LIBRARY
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 151 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · SEPTEMBER 21, 1940 NUMBER 12

The Shape of Things

WITH AXIS HOPES FOR A QUICK DECISION in the Battle of Britain fading, there is a growing prospect that its chief effort in the coming winter will be directed toward ousting the British from the Near East. No doubt air attacks on England will continue, and strong forces be held in readiness to suggest an invasion, with the object of keeping the bulk of Britain's strength pinned down in England. In the Near East Alexandria and the Suez Canal represent the heart of the British position. If they can be seized, Palestine will become untenable and the road will be opened to the Iraq oil fields. In conjunction with the attack on Egypt an attempt may be made to overthrow the stronghold of Gibraltar, which is proving a sharp thorn in Italy's side. Long-distance air attacks seem to have been quite ineffective, and there is little hope of putting the Rock out of action except by a combined air and land assault based on Spain. In this connection the present visit to Germany of Serrano Suñer, Spanish Minister of Government and Franco's brother-in-law, is significant. Meanwhile General Graziani's army has crossed the frontier from Libya and begun a cautious advance over the four hundred miles of desert which lie between the border and Cairo. His forces are superior in numbers and equipment, but the British defenders have a seasoned army of high quality. If the Italians take the coast route, they are likely to be harassed by the British fleet, while if they fan out into the desert the problem of water supply will be difficult and an extended front will offer opportunities to the mechanized forces of the defense. It is probable that Mussolini's boasts of the toughness of his army are at last going to receive a genuine test.

✶

FROM LAST WEEK'S SPEW OF PRIMARIES nothing emerged that could be considered prophetic by anyone without the extra-sensory perception that belongs only to campaign managers. Georgia Democrats—and that means Georgia—have resurrected Gene Talmadge for another fling at the governorship. The Georgia primitive who glories in the chain gang and surrounds himself with Kluxers was defeated for the Senate in 1936 after an anti-Roosevelt campaign, and lukewarm opposition to the New Deal gained him another defeat in 1938. This time he started the race with a pledge to cooperate with the Roosevelt Administration, and in this dismal sense his victory may be considered an indication of continued Roosevelt popularity. Arizona did the unexpected by recalling Henry Fountain Ashurst, one of the Senate's most attractive showpieces, after twenty-eight years of continuous service. Ashurst usually supported the Administration but he was strongly against conscription. His opponent, Judge Ernest W. McFarland, made much of this point, and it undoubtedly was a major factor in Ashurst's defeat. His constituents were also said to have resented the infrequency of his visits to the home state, whose "starry desert nights" and "blooming cactus" he was so fond of apostrophizing on the floor of the Senate. Minnesota Republicans picked Shipstead for a three-way Senatorial race which will witness the reemergence of Elmer A. Benson as the choice of the Farmer-Labor Party. Other primaries produced more or less routine results, and Maine went through the usual advance election performance which ever since the Civil War has assured faithful Republicans of a G. O. P. victory two months later. The percentage of the vote that went to the Republicans was some 7 per cent higher than that of 1936, but considering what happened in November of that year a 7 per cent margin need not give Mr. Flynn nightmares.

✶

SENATE PASSAGE OF THE EXCESS-PROFITS tax bill, now apparently assured, will do little to settle the controversy over the measure. Rushed through committee by the steam-roller tactics of Senator Pat Harrison, the Senate bill differs fundamentally from that adopted by the House. It omits the clauses by which the House sought to make invested capital the preferred means of calculating excess profits, and in the process reduces still further the meager yield that may be expected from the tax. It is so complicated that one doubts whether it could be satisfactorily administered in the form approved by the Senate. What the Senate-House

Published weekly and copyright, 1940, in the U. S. A. by The Nation, Inc., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1897, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1897.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conference will do with the bill remains, of course, to be seen. It is too much to hope that a satisfactory measure can emerge in the few days remaining before the adjournment of Congress. Great care is required in working out an effective and reasonable curb on excess profits. The present Congress has made a botch of it, partly because of inadequate technical preparation. If this failure is to be remedied, work should be started immediately on a new bill to be presented at the next session of Congress.

*

THE SELECTIVE SERVICE BILL HAS BECOME law. Under the compromise worked out in conference 16,500,000 men between twenty-one and thirty-five, inclusive, will be registered for possible military training and service within the next thirty days. The Fish amendment delaying the actual induction into service for sixty days after the passage of the bill was eliminated. In the final stages of consideration the only serious hitch occurred when an attempt was made in conference to water down the already weak draft-industry provisions contained in the original Senate and House bills. After the amended version had been rejected, the conferees hastily substituted the House provisions, which were accepted. The President has asked Congress for special legislation safeguarding the rights of all drafted men under the Social Security Act and the Railroad Retirement Act. Action on this request is especially important in view of the relatively strict qualifying provisions established in the 1939 revision of the Social Security Act.

*

THE PROVISION FOR DRAFTING INDUSTRIES which refuse to cooperate in the defense program has been greeted with heavy disapproval on the right—especially the clause making failure to comply with government orders a penal offense. This is undoubtedly a stronge dose; but it is at least logical that the penalties for recalcitrant industrialists should be of the same nature as those prescribed for military draft dodgers. The New York *Times* is afraid that the threat of confiscation, fine, and imprisonment will "discourage men from going into the defense industries that we most require. . . ." We question this contention. Fear of punishment may be as effective a stimulant to good behavior as hope of gain, and we find it reassuring that the government is empowered to employ the former as well as the latter to prod reluctant capitalists into the service of the country. In an editorial published on September 5 the *Times* quoted a lengthy statement by Bernard Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board in the World War, which clearly gave the impression that he opposed the power to commandeer. A few days later Mr. Baruch sent a letter to the *Times* pointing out that its editorial misinterpreted his views on the power to draft industry. "Commandeering," he said, "is a right that may be required to club into line a small group, always existent, which is seeking selfish gains in selfish ways. In the last war recalcitrants knew there existed the power to commandeer. . . . This knowledge kept them in line. That will be true today." Mr. Baruch's word properly carries great weight in any consideration of the question of industrial mobilization. The *Times* quoted him to its own ends; but his answer was printed inconspicuously under the heading "Voluntary Cooperation Best," with a small subhead reading, "But Power to Commandeer and Draft Is Held to Be Necessary." We think Mr. Baruch's actual position deserves as much attention as the position mistakenly attributed to him.

*

HULL'S STATEMENT THAT AVILA CAMACHO, President-elect of Mexico, would be welcome in Washington if he cared to visit this country has dispelled much of the uncertainty which has beclouded American-Mexican relations in recent months. While the statement does not constitute a formal recognition of Camacho's election, the absence of a similar announcement with regard to Almazán is a strong indication that Almazán will not have the backing of the State Department in his much-heralded uprising against the legal Mexican government. Since no revolt against a Mexican government recognized by the United States has been successful in the past fifteen years, there is a strong probability that the revolution may not even be tried. So far there is little evidence that Almazán's support within Mexico is sufficient to make a revolt possible. His followers have convened a secret congress which has "impeached" Cárdenas and "elected" General Lopez as Provisional President. Six of the thirty-two sections of the Petroleum Workers' Syndicate have declared a strike which is interpreted as indirect support for Almazán. But organized labor as a whole, together with the bulk of the army, is strongly behind the government. Many prominent Almazanistas are reported to be fleeing to the United States. If this country discharges its responsibility under international law and prevents American interests from intervening, it is safe to predict that Mexico will weather the threatened storm.

*

ALTHOUGH THE PATTERN OF FASCISM IS everywhere much the same, the new Rumanian government seems to have taken vanquished France rather than Germany or Italy as its model. As in France, the head of the state, General Antonescu, is a non-party military leader. The Cabinet, composed primarily of leaders of the Iron Guard, is officially described as being made up of "men with unsmirched pasts." The new regime is to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be based on "faith, justice, discipline, hard work, education, silence, and national solidarity." As a step toward this last objective, Jews have been subjected to new restrictions. To complete the parallel with France, a public trial is being planned for King Carol, who is held responsible for the loss of Transylvania. Meanwhile, Germany has taken steps to cash in on its great diplomatic triumph in the Balkans by serving notice that the international Danubian commission no longer exists, thus preparing the way for complete German domination of the river. The only country in a position to challenge Germany in this action is the Soviet Union, which now controls several lower Danube ports. But there is little in recent Soviet-German relations that suggests that Moscow is prepared to risk war by opposing this step in Hitler's *Drang nach Osten*.

✶

SOVIET INDUSTRY MAY BE IN A BAD WAY, and the Red Army may have been discredited in Finland, but anyone who has read G. E. R. Gedye's dispatches to the New York *Times* (sent from Varna, Bulgaria) will readily admit that Stalin has achieved the triumph of censorship in one country. The copious examples of the way in which the Soviet censor performs the fantastic feat of keeping one-sixth of the world hermetically sealed from the other five-sixths in this era of communication make fascinating—and authoritative—reading. Mr. Gedye went to Moscow a year ago, having been driven out of Vienna and Prague by the arrival of the Nazi battalions. His attitude toward the Stalin regime was so open-minded that he might have been described as a fellow fellow-traveler. But he recently closed down the New York *Times* bureau in the Russian capital and departed, trailing clouds of red tape, because the censorship "has made the work of foreign correspondents in Moscow quite impossible." One of the main motivations of the censorship, he says, is the desire of the Moscow regime to hide the facts about the "Socialist fatherland" from the millions of sympathizers in the outside world whose support comes in handy for the purposes of Soviet foreign policy and for whom, we should add, ignorance is the continued bliss of faith in the Soviet Union.

✶

MR. GEDYE CONFIRMS, IN HIS SERIES OF excellent articles, the picture of poverty and inefficiency we already have in spite of the censorship, which even forbids the cabling abroad of stories in the Russian press. But more depressing is Mr. Gedye's description of the state of mind he encountered. Even intelligent and educated Russians, he says, believe everything they are told; they are also convinced that *Pravda* and *Izvestia* print all the truthful news there is about the outside capitalist world. Of course, now that Stalin has gone in for "liberating" other nations and Red soldiers are setting foot on alien soil, the people back home hear wild rumors of places where even non-capitalists can buy boots and shoes; but in general their idea of the world beyond the frontiers is as vague as it is wrong.

✶

UNDER GANDHI'S LEADERSHIP THE INDIAN National Congress working committee has withdrawn its offer to cooperate with Britain in the war as a price for immediate independence. Because of the strict censorship on news from India, it is difficult to ascertain the effect of this action on the civil-disobedience campaign voted by Congress last March. A fortnight ago several leading members of Congress became impatient with Gandhi's procrastination and defied British authority by drilling in a public park. Gandhi in a speech before the Congress said that he would see the Viceroy and ask once more for independence. He also said that he favored individual rather than mass disobedience; but he

CONTENTS

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 229

EDITORIALS:

THE WILLKIE DEFLATION 232
BRITISH MORALE 233
LABOR'S DEFENSE ROLE 233
OUR STAKE IN INDO-CHINA 234

THE G. O. P.'s PROBLEM CHILD by J. Lacey Reynolds 235

REFUGEES CAN BE ASSETS by Norman Angell 236

CHINA'S THREATENED LIFE LINE by K. Y. Chen 239

FRANCE IN A COMA by Harry J. Greenwall 241

HUNGARY GETS A SUDETENLAND by Anton Kuh 243

BLACKOUT. A Poem by Ben Ray Redman 245

A NATIVE AT LARGE by Jonathan Daniels 246

BOOKS AND THE ARTS:

NOTES BY THE WAY by Margaret Marshall 247
WHY FRANCE FELL by Albert Guérard 247
SOCIALISTIC NECROPOLIS by Maxwell Geismar 248
NONE ARE SO BLIND . . . by Hans Kohn 249
IS MARRIAGE A MONSTER? by Louis B. Salomon 250
PARTY GOVERNMENT IN CRISIS by Max Lerner 250
IN BRIEF 253
DRAMA: FUN IN A HOSPITAL by Joseph Wood Krutch 253
RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 254

Editor and Publisher
FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor ROBERT BENDINER
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL

Associate Editors
KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART I. F. STONE

Dramatic Critic
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Business Manager and Director of Circulation
HUGO VAN ARX

Advertising Manager
MURIEL C. GRAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

added, "If the government forces war, I do not know what form the struggle will take." He expressed again his reluctance to embarrass England while it is engaged in a life-and-death struggle, but added that he would not tolerate restrictions on freedom of opinion and action. The recent arrest of several members of the Congress Party on charges of making seditious speeches are not designed to convince even the patient Gandhi that a compromise yielding the substance of independence for India is possible at present.

*

WILLIAM B. BANKHEAD WILL BE MISSED BY his party. He had a genius for strategy coupled with a complete mastery of the intricacies of parliamentary procedure. And he was friendly and unruffled even in the heat of battle. The forces of the New Deal could have found no more effective general, and the success of its legislative program in the House will be a lasting testimonial to Mr. Bankhead's skill as floor leader before he became Speaker in 1936. From start to finish he was an unyielding Administration supporter, and there was something peculiarly fitting in the fact that his fatal attack came during a visit to Baltimore, where he had gone, against the advice of his family and his physician, to address a Democratic campaign rally.

The Willkie Deflation

WENDELL WILLKIE'S quick recovery from a severe attack of hoarseness was an unfortunate bit of luck for the Republican candidate. Nothing now seems to stand in the way of his talking himself into an untimely political death. In the weeks following the Philadelphia convention there was a general disposition to believe that whatever you might think of the Republican Party it had at least put forth its most promising candidate—a man of stature, dignity, and ability; one who could stand up to Roosevelt and still sound like a statesman. Another week of speeches like those of the past ten days and that picture will have faded from the minds of men even in Maine and Vermont.

On the theory that a successful politician must identify himself with his audience, Willkie has made his first barnstorming trip a succession of poses that come close to being small-time burlesque. Leaving the rediscovered scenes of his youth, the utilities executive, corporation lawyer, and former enrolled member of Tammany Hall tried first a combination of Don Quixote and Mr. Smith Goes to Washington: "Even though I face the greatest political corruption," he said somewhat incoherently, "Boss Hague, Boss Flynn, Boss Kelly, to buy the election, and an intrenched bureaucracy, I go forth from Rushville prepared to fight them. I am not afraid of any of them. . . . But however I come back and however they attempt to smear me, I will come back the same man you have always known."

At Cicero, Illinois, the Wholesome Hick gave way to the Horny-Handed Hoosier. Facing a crowd of workers of the Western Electric plant, the Republican candidate got tough: "You fellows don't look like boys from Groton, or from Harvard. You look to me like men who can do things. . . . I have worked as hard as any guy in this crowd. I can do as much work as any damn one of you." The papers didn't report whether he spat tobacco juice or informed the crowd that his uncle was a G-man.

At Rock Island he turned evangelist. "Please," he pleaded with the crowd, "Please, without regard for me, do not vote to send American boys to the shambles of a European war." Then, carried away by the passion of his hope that the mothers of Illinois would spare him that agony, he demanded to know what "extraordinary skill" Roosevelt had displayed in foreign affairs. "Was it extraordinary skill when he promoted the Munich Pact? . . . Was that an extraordinary demonstration of human knowledge and understanding when he telephoned Hitler and Mussolini and urged them to sell Czechoslovakia down the river?"

Even accepting the embarrassed apology of his press secretary, Mr. Lem Jones, that Willkie had "misspoken," it is plain that the statesman of Philadelphia has become the rabble-rouser of Rock Island. As matters turned out at Munich, Roosevelt's role was not a happy one. With or without the prompting of Chamberlain he dispatched messages to Hitler and Mussolini urging continued negotiations during the crisis which sealed the fate of Czechoslovakia; his interest was in the prevention of a European war. But no one can fairly say that he envisioned the shameless surrender that Chamberlain and Daladier agreed to. Nor is there the slightest reason to believe that without his last-minute intervention Czechoslovakia would have been spared the dismemberment which its allies were perfectly prepared to offer as the price of peace.

Coming from any source, this kind of attack on Roosevelt would be unscrupulous. It is entirely shameless from the man who has just accepted the support of that arch-appeaser Henry Ford, who in turn found it "encouraging to see a man of Mr. Willkie's type chosen as Presidential candidate"; from the man who has the backing of Herbert Hoover and of those great commercial interests that seek to mollify Adolf Hitler against the day when they can do business with an all-powerful Germany. Whatever the blunders of Franklin D. Roosevelt, he is the most powerful anti-Nazi figure in the world today, and the curious antics of Wendell Willkie can only make the G. O. P. ask itself whether it is for this that they gave up the safety of a Taft or the sanity of a Vandenberg.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

British Morale

THE Nazis have now maintained an almost continuous aerial bombardment of London for over a week, but it is not yet clear what part this attack plays in their general strategy. The primary purpose of the raids, as Winston Churchill suggested in his radio speech last week, may be to prepare the way for an imminent attempt at invasion. If vital communications can be disorganized and the population in the rear thrown into panic, prospects of a successful assault on Britain's coastal defenses would obviously be enhanced. The German General Staff, however, usually attempts to concoct plans designed to fit alternative objectives, and it may be that their maximum hope on this occasion is so to demoralize the people of Britain that they will sue for peace and make the tremendous risks of an invasion unnecessary.

Keeping pace with the bombing attacks on London, the Berlin propaganda barrage has risen to a crescendo in the past week. Over and over again the British have been warned that they are hopelessly beaten and had better acknowledge the fact. Otherwise, they are told, London will share the fate of Warsaw, and if that does not suffice to bring them to their senses, every other British city will be battered in turn. This onslaught on the nerves, sharply punctuated by death and destruction and combined with efforts to drive the King and Queen and the British government from London, is clearly a central feature of the German campaign. Nazi leaders in Berlin have been reported as saying that when the German air force has carried its lesson a little farther, "it would not surprise us if the present government were forced to resign in favor of a body of men willing to come to terms."

That statement appeared a good many days ago, but despite all that London has endured since there is every sign that Britain is more grimly determined than before to stick it out. Although the German fliers seem less and less particular where they drop their bombs, it is clear that the damage to communications, docks, utilities, and factories has been severe. However, London continues to function, and its defenses have not been silenced. On the contrary, new methods of fighting off the raiders have been developed which have made the Nazis pay dearly for their successes.

The question remains how long the nerves of Londoners can withstand this hell of sudden death, lost homes, and endless sleep-destroying noise. The answer depends on intangibles not easy to assay, but knowledge of the British character suggests that the Nazis will have to be prepared to maintain their aerial offensive much longer than they seem to suspect. This view is confirmed by many experienced American observers on the spot. Nevertheless, there have been hints of one factor which may have serious effects on morale unless the government provides a rapid remedy—the suggestion that the poorer inhabitants of London are not getting a fair share of the protection that is available. All sections of the city have suffered, but it is in the crowded working-class sections that the destruction of homes has been greatest. In these areas most houses are unprovided with good shelters, and there is a lack of safe shelters for thousands who have had to evacuate their own dwellings. It has been proposed that houses in the West End, which are better built and most of which at least have basements, should be thrown open to the homeless, especially as many of them are standing empty. It is to be hoped that the government will adopt this suggestion, for under the conditions of siege which London is experiencing morale can only be maintained when all sections of the population share the hardships and dangers as equally as possible.

Labor's Defense Role

THERE can be no doubt that there is widespread opposition in the ranks of organized labor to the draft act. It has been attacked by both William Green and John L. Lewis, and many unions and industrial councils have passed resolutions condemning it. Another test is provided by a poll of labor editors taken by the Federated Press, which shows 79 opposed to conscription, 32 in favor, and 11 undecided. In certain cases this attitude is combined with a bitter opposition to all defense measures and to the Administration's foreign policy that suggests Communist inspiration. But probably the vast majority of trade unionists who have gone on record against the draft recognize that a Hitler victory in Europe would mean grave danger to this country and are willing to go at least part of the way with the President in his efforts to build a strong defensive system. At the same time they do not feel that these are matters which concern them very directly, and they are prepared to carry on with their task of protecting labor standards, leaving to others the task of organizing resistance to Hitlerism.

In our opinion the labor movement is doing itself a great disservice by this negative approach to the problem of defense. It leaves business in a position to assume leadership and use it for its own purposes. There are, of course, many business men who are genuinely alive to the menace offered by Hitlerism to everything for which America stands. Another group, keeping pretty much under cover at this time, admires the German dictator for his "efficiency" and even more for his success in destroying the German labor movement. Between these two extremes are a large mass of neutrals who, as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the *Fortune* poll analyzed by Freda Kirchwey last week showed, will probably plump for appeasement if Hitler completes the conquest of Europe. Meanwhile, business men as a whole are happy enough to cooperate in the arms program but only on condition that its scope and tempo are such as to insure comfortable profits. That is why rearmament is getting under way so slowly; at best, we cannot hope to have our defenses in good shape before the end of 1942. Yet the dangers which they are destined to ward off may become very real in a few weeks or a few months.

The trade unions, likewise, have failed to grasp the urgent need of speed in the matter of defense. Their opposition to conscription shows that all too clearly. William Green, testifying before the Senate Military Affairs Committee in opposition to the Burke-Wadsworth bill, stated that he did not oppose compulsory service in principle but felt it was not necessary at this time. The government, he suggested, should first thoroughly explore the possibilities of a voluntary-enlistment program. However, since the passage of the bill Mr. Green has pledged that the A. F. of L. would cooperate in putting it into effect.

Other labor spokesmen have expressed the view that only when war had come would the draft be justified. That was the attitude of the British Labor Party eighteen months ago when it voted against conscription. It did so largely because it distrusted Chamberlain's policy, but it did not realize that by refusing to cooperate in the creation of weapons to fight Hitlerism it was playing into the hands of the appeasers. Nor did it look ahead foreseeing the time when Britain might have to defend itself with an inadequately trained army. And now, if that army is unable to resist the seasoned German hordes, it will be British workingmen who will bear the brunt of defeat in the loss of all the rights and liberties they have fought for so long.

Must we repeat the same mistake here? Is it not possible for American workers to understand to what extent their future welfare depends on the outcome of the conflict now raging in Europe? Because so many employers regard defense only from the profit angle there is a temptation on the part of labor to write it off as "another Wall Street racket." But labor cannot afford to be indifferent to the building up of a strong army and the speeding up of arms production. For while the industrialists may be able to come to some sort of terms with Hitler that will not too seriously disturb their comforts and privileges, labor never can.

Today the labor movement has a great opportunity to lead the country in the fight against fascism if it is able to rise above factionalism and the parochial outlook. Today union membership is perhaps as high as eight millions, but the power organized labor can exert far exceeds these numbers. A large-scale armament program can only be carried out with the cooperation of millions of skilled workers, and it is up to these to insist that the job shall not be retarded by sabotage on the part of profit-seeking capitalists. We should like to see every union with members engaged in defense industries taking definite action to combat inefficiency and waste and using its machinery to expose employers who inflate costs. At the same time we hope to see organized labor putting its political weight behind the defense program, combating all vested interests which seek to slow it down or interfere in any other way.

Only by adopting a fully responsible attitude can the trade unions hope to make their influence felt in regard to defense decisions which seem likely to prove the decisive factor in American economy during the next few years. If they surrender leadership to capitalist groups, they risk losing their rightful voice even on matters of labor standards, and, what is worse, they risk the perversion of the defense program to undemocratic ends.

Our Stake in Indo-China

IN CONCENTRATING their immediate attention on Indo-China rather than the Dutch East Indies, the Japanese have undoubtedly had an eye on the United States. Although the Dutch insular possessions would be a much greater prize, Japan has apparently concluded, with justification, that an attack on them would carry serious risk of conflict with this country. It knows very well that continued access to the tin and rubber supplies of the Dutch East Indies is essential to American national defense. And its naval strategists have doubtless pointed out that invasion of the islands would leave Japan's line of communications vulnerable to an attack from the American fleet in the Pacific.

Indo-China may not be so rich, but it presents far fewer difficulties. The Vichy government is in a capitulating mood. Neither Britain nor the United States has naval bases near enough to permit effective assistance to the colonial authorities should they decide to fight. As an added inducement, possession of the French naval base in Cam Ranh Bay would be of great value for subsequent Japanese aggression in the South Seas. Yet despite the seeming lack of obstacles, Japan has been trying to obtain concessions by negotiation rather than by the usual direct action. Perhaps this indicates, as K. Y. Chen suggests elsewhere in this issue, that Japan is not really strong enough for another military adventure. Certainly things have not been going any too well for the Japanese recently in North China. But reports from Tokyo indicate that Japan is chiefly concerned about possible action by this country. Governor General Decoux of Indo-China is reported to have sent three appeals to President Roosevelt. Secretary Hull's warning

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to Japan to preserve the status quo in the Pacific may well have come in response to one of these appeals. But more effective than the warning seems to have been the story, apparently officially inspired, which was permitted to leak out in Washington to the effect that the United States would enforce an embargo on gasoline and scrap iron if Japan invaded Indo-China.

It is not improbable that these warnings and threats have come too late to head Japan off in Indo-China. In that case the United States will shortly be in a position where it must consider action. Japanese occupation of Indo-China may not represent as immediate a threat to American security as seizure of the Dutch East Indies, but the ultimate effect may be even graver. The establishment of a Japanese base in Indo-China might well seal the fate of the last stronghold of freedom in Asia—the Republic of China. For more than three years China has been fighting for freedom against overwhelming odds. Apart from the strategic and economic significance of Indo-China itself, we dare not let China down at this critical moment. An embargo on the shipment of further war supplies to Japan will help, but may not be enough. We must get substantial aid to China before it is too late. This can only be achieved by reopening the Burma road. The United States should take advantage of its closer relations with Great Britain to exert the utmost diplomatic and political pressure to assure the reopening and improvement of this last remaining gateway to free China. Unless such action is taken quickly, democracy stands in grave danger of losing the Battle of the Pacific, which may be as important in the long run as the Battle of Britain.

The G.O.P.'s Problem Child

BY J. LACEY REYNOLDS

Washington, September 13

AT PHILADELPHIA Wendell Willkie made a reputation as a heavyweight politician when he outsmarted the convention managers to clinch the nomination. By now it has become apparent that Mr. Willkie does not pack the terrific punch described in his advance publicity. He seems to belong in the preliminaries, not in the main bout.

His political moves during the past month suggest four weaknesses. First, in his acceptance speech at Elwood he showed himself to be no match for Roosevelt as a radio orator. His most ardent supporters concede that this will be a handicap. Second, he revealed that he was a poor judge of public sentiment by his stand on the "draft industry" issue. Third, he has demonstrated a surprising lack of executive ability in dealing with the Republican organization. He has irritated the party wheel horses and failed to reconcile his defeated convention opponents. And fourth, on legislative matters he has kicked the shins of Republican Senators and Congressmen until they threaten to leave him to his fate and to look out for themselves for the rest of the campaign.

Willkie's attack on the Overton-Russell amendment permitting government seizure of plants did much to tarnish his reputation as a political sage. Even a third-rate politician would have foreseen the inevitable political consequence of opposing conscription of industry while favoring conscription of man-power. When public reaction proved markedly unfavorable he was forced to claim that his stand had been misunderstood and to come out for "selective service" for industry as an alternative to the Overton-Russell amendment. His "selective service" was obviously nothing more than a smoke screen to permit him to escape from a position that was politically untenable.

His stand on the "draft industry" issue had particularly unfortunate consequences in the Senate. When the Overton-Russell amendment passed the Senate on August 28, nine of the eighteen Republicans answering the roll voted for it. They included such rock-ribbed conservatives as Austin of Vermont, Davis of Pennsylvania, Lodge of Massachusetts, Tobey of New Hampshire, and Capper of Kansas, the last being one of the Senate's shrewdest readers of popular sentiment. Some of these Republicans had put themselves on record during debate as strongly in favor of plant seizure. "It seems unanswerable," said Senator Lodge, for example, "that if we are giving the government the power to conscript man-power, it is only just and fair to give the government power to conscript industries which are essential to war services." The next day Willkie condemned plant seizure, thereby creating a situation in which the Presidential nominee ran head on into a substantial block of his party's outstanding Senators.

Republican House members had a similar experience two weeks later when Willkie came out in opposition to the Fish amendment to the conscription bill, which would have permitted sixty days for voluntary enlistments. Of the 169 Republicans in the House, 140 had already voted for the amendment. Minority Leader Joe Martin later tried to smoothe things over by making it appear that it was just a difference of opinion over a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minor amendment. But the 140 Republicans, including Joe Martin, knew better. This was not the first time that Martin, a stickler for teamwork, had been embarrassed by the lone-wolf tactics of the nominee. Many Republican members, angered at being left out on a limb, vowed that they would cast off from the nominee and run their own independent campaigns. Charlie Halleck, the Indiana Congressman who is considered to be Willkie's spokesman in Congress, hardly dared show his face in the House chamber for several days afterward. Bitter letters were addressed to Rushville. Typical of the reaction in the House cloakrooms was the comment, "I see where Willkie is heading a third-party movement." No doubt Willkie intended his repudiation of the Fish amendment to signify his ardent support of total defense and "short-of-war" assistance to England; high party strategists felt that some such step was necessary to combat Henry Wallace's charge that Willkie is the "appeasement candidate." But the Fish amendment was not the appropriate vehicle to use, under the circumstances.

The Republicans' current organizational difficulties may be attributed largely to Willkie's lack of political experience and his reluctance to take advice from the party bigwigs. He waited until his campaign plans were practically formulated early this month before calling in Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, one of his Philadelphia opponents and a skilled veteran. Senator Taft of Ohio, another convention opponent, has never been consulted. Little wonder that the Taft people are not on the job for Willkie. The Republican nominee might also have benefited from earlier and more frequent conferences with his running-mate, the wily Senator McNary. These old-time organization leaders have been ignored in favor of sponsors of the independent Willkie clubs, and the mounting friction between the two groups was the real reason party leaders from twenty-one states met at Rushville on Thursday, September 5. After the meeting Willkie pledged his "support and loyalty to the rank and file of the party," and the G. O. P. stalwarts left with a feeling that their nominee was finally awakening to the political realities of the campaign, that he would work with them in precinct and in Congress. Five days later he dropped his bombshell about the Fish amendment.

On his present tour through the West Willkie may turn out to be a master of back-platform campaigning, and if he does, this will tend to offset some of his past political errors. But so far the record is against him.

Refugees Can Be Assets

BY NORMAN ANGELL

THERE are certain vital lessons relating to American security to be drawn from the story of Britain's treatment of the refugee, as told in a recent number of *The Nation*. If America repeats British policy, it will suffer much more than Britain has suffered, just because the alien problem, of which the refugee problem is a part, is quantitatively so much greater here than in Britain. The fact that it is so obviously to the interest of Britain that American power should not be weakened is an Englishman's justification for treating the subject in an American publication.

Before indicating the lessons which Americans ought to draw from British mistakes I wish to say that though British policy in this connection deserves to be judged severely, the way in which public opinion in Britain has reacted against that policy should be taken into account. As *The Nation* pointed out, many who in the press or in Parliament have for years encouraged the harassing of refugees in the worst witch-smelling fashion have of late turned completely round and demanded a change—testimony to the fact that even in war time democracy and free discussion are realities in Britain and still enable faults to be corrected, even if the correction comes late and after much damage has been done. And one detail should be remembered: the thousands of destitute refugees have been provided for largely by funds furnished by the government.

The essence of the British error is not that the policy followed meant the infliction of many and great individual hardships. War always means individual suffering. If the policy pursued had been really calculated to advance Allied victory, the authorities concerned would have been right in disregarding the price of broken hopes and broken hearts. But the real indictment of British policy in this matter is that it implies a complete misjudgment of the nature of the struggle, of the political and military strategy appropriate to it; a failure to perceive one of the great sources of Hitler's strength and of Allied weakness. This failure is not a minor failure. It is capital in the whole conduct of the war.

Note first the facts. At the outbreak of the war there were in Britain somewhere in the region of a hundred thousand refugees from Nazi persecution, mainly German but also including Austrians, Poles, and Czechs, often classed legally as German. They included scientists, teachers, religious and political leaders, journalists,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

writers, artists, musicians, some of the greatest names in the world of science, learning, and literature. There were great chemists, engineers, physicians, surgeons, psychologists (Freud was among them), students of military science, men who had built German tanks and planes and taught and led German soldiers; men for whom life in Germany, because of a Jewish mother, or some expression of liberal views in the past, or a refusal to conform to the new Nazi "science," held only the prospect of terror, the threat of torture; all of whom had one thing in common—a deadly hatred of the system, the Thing, which had driven them out.

What was to be done with these people who had fought Hitler at home and were prepared to continue the fight from England? One must have moved among them, as I happen to have done for a year or two before the war, to realize the wealth of knowledge, talent, and devotion in the cause of fighting Hitler here available. How could it all be used?

Certain War Office pundits—nobody seems to know who they were—answered that question by deciding that it should not be used at all; that all these people should be deemed putative spies, locked up, imprisoned, and given the treatment most calculated to convert them from being enemies of Hitler into being enemies of Britain. Of all the aliens only the German refugee, be it noted, was to be thus treated—the very category of persons of whom one could say not only that they were the least likely to be used by Germany, but also that they were those of whom the British authorities had the completest records, since they had come in peace time when the checking of records was still possible. It was in vain that the Under Secretary of State for the Home Office declared in the House of Commons, "I wish we knew half as much about many of the neutral aliens and many British subjects as we know about the enemy aliens now in this country. . . . I should like to pay my tribute to the behavior of these refugees in that they have shown themselves worthy of the confidence which we have placed in them. Apart from one or two petty isolated incidents . . . there have been no serious acts hostile to the state which can be attributed to these people." No matter, in effect replied the War Office officials, these people are German. There may be spies among them. To which one could retort that there might also be spies among people named Brown or Robinson. The way to deal with the fact, however, would not be to lock up all the Browns and all the Robinsons. Nevertheless, all people who by the crude test of legal nationality could be entered as "German," however little German they might be in fact or in feeling, were declared liable to imprisonment.

The professor was taken from his college in Oxford, the chemist from his laboratory, the surgeon or the physician from his hospital, the teacher from his school; and along with the non-Aryan engineer who had helped to build the German tanks, the airplane designer who had fled from Germany because he was a Socialist, the very children in the schools who had been brought to Britain almost as babies, all were officially put into the category of prisoners of war, to be herded into prisons or empty factories or arbitrarily transported to Canada or Australia, wives separated from husbands, children from parents. Hundreds upon hundreds who had been ready to give their lives for Britain were turned into puzzled, amazed, or embittered prisoners.

Why was this monstrous thing done? H. G. Wells believes it was largely the work of deliberate saboteurs, of some of those few in the service of Britain who in their hearts favor the Hitlerite way of life and would like to see the Nazis victorious. Personally I think the true explanation is more commonplace, and is to be found less in the treasonable malice than in the stupidity, the ossification of mind, of those who, as events have again and again proved, are simply incapable of grasping certain changes which have occurred since the last war. Hitler, however, is perfectly well aware of these things and has used his knowledge with devastating military effect.

In 1914 nationality could be accepted as a rough-and-ready guide to a man's real allegiance and sympathies. It was broadly true then to say that all Germans desired a victory for Germany and all Frenchmen one for France. The elements which have made the Vichy government possible today simply did not exist in 1914. There was no fear then among great sections of the French bourgeoisie that a defeated Germany might mean a Bolshevist Europe; the world had not then been swept by economic blizzards reducing millions to penury and insecurity and making them ready to embrace any new doctrine or "revolution" which promised a remedy. Hitler's genius has been to recognize how the psychosis created by these conditions could be used by a minority of ruthless men to impose their power upon the majority. He employed his technique first to make the Nazi Party master of Germany and then to make Germany master of Europe. In achieving the latter objective he has argued in effect: "In every country there are people sick of 'democracy' and parliamentarianism, afraid of Communist disorder, fearful for their possessions; disappointed politicians ready to exploit these motives; disgruntled men with grievances to whom the opportunity of power over those they hate will make a powerful appeal. These motives exist everywhere, are truly international; I can use them for a world-wide revolution of destruction by which Germany can benefit." And he has used them with most amazing success—all the way from Vienna to Vichy. He knew that national allegiances no longer held. He used Austrians to prepare his domination in Austria, Norwegians in Norway,

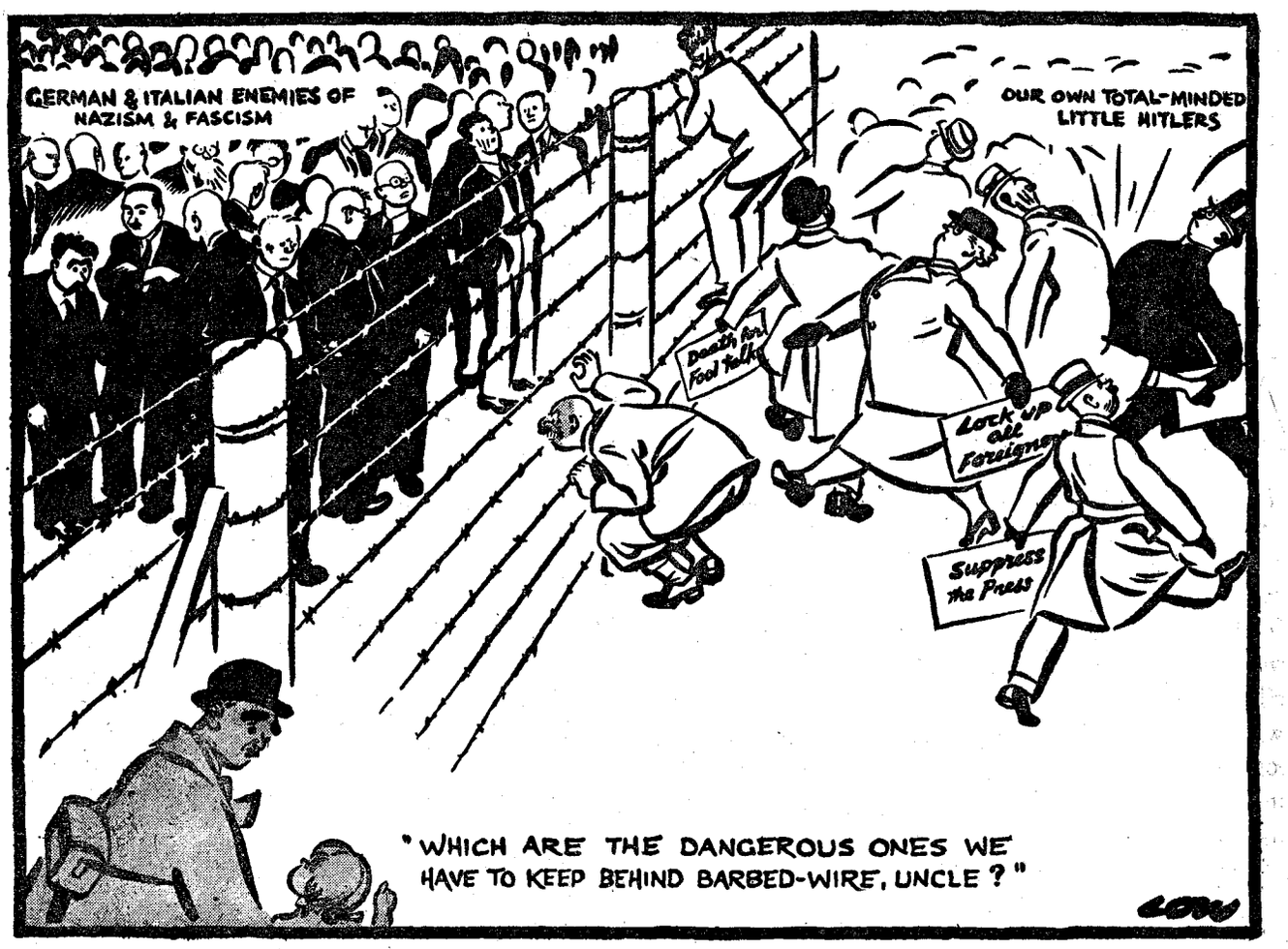
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Danes in Denmark, Belgians in Belgium, Frenchmen in France. He knew furthermore that sometimes quite small minorities could be used to paralyze great majorities; that a 1 per cent of Norwegians or a 5 per cent of Hollanders or a 10 per cent of Frenchmen might serve his purpose. Without this political preparation he could not have achieved his military successes.

The grave significance of the British official attitude toward the German refugee, an attitude into which a good many in America seem to be drifting, is that it rejects altogether any duplication of this technique for the defeat of Hitler. To say that "all Germans must be assumed to favor the victory of Germany and all Frenchmen the victory of France" not only flies in the face of proved fact, but means that there shall be no attempt to use for purposes of liberation that revolutionary technique which Hitler has used with such amazing success for enslavement. It implies the defeatist assumption that though he can and does use Norwegians, Belgians, Englishmen to promote his evil ends, we must not even try to use Germans to promote our better ends. Only a month or two ago a British diplomat warned us over the radio that we could never trust anyone of Austrian or German origin or association. Suppose Hitler had said in the organization of his fifth columns in Austria, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, "You can never trust Austrians, Norwegians, Danes, Belgians, or Frenchmen." He knew there were risks in the Trojan method; he took them, and conquered the Continent.

I have more than once asked my countrymen to imagine what use Hitler would make of a situation in which a hundred thousand Englishmen had fled to Germany from persecution in England—a hundred thousand Englishmen who included great figures in English literature and political and religious leaders. Does anyone suppose for a moment that Hitler would have found no better use for them than to "lock 'em all up"? In this matter as in others, the British, like the French in the early part of the war, have been victims of "the Maginot mind." Stand on the defensive; seize no opportunity if it involves risks. That policy, pursued against an enemy taking everywhere the offensive, is the policy of defeat. Here, in the refugees, was a great army which had come over to us from the enemy and which could have been used in a thousand and one ways to fight Hitler, as Hitler had used tiny driblets from the ranks of his enemies to fight us. Our instinct was not to say, "What use can we make of these people?" but, "There may be risks in using these people, so we won't use them at all."

I emphasize this, because it is at this point that the lesson for America sticks out. There are by all accounts some three million German-Americans and a similar number of Italian-Americans in this country. If it adopts


GERMAN & ITALIAN ENEMIES OF NAZISM & FASCISM
OUR OWN TOTAL-MINDED LITTLE HITLERS
Death to Fool Talk
Lock up all Foreigners
Suppress the Press
"WHICH ARE THE DANGEROUS ONES WE HAVE TO KEEP BEHIND BARBED-WIRE, UNCLE?"
LOW

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

toward them the attitude that all Germans and all Italians must be presumed to be enemies and spies and harassed with suspicions and special regulations, then indeed they will become a fruitful field for Nazi maneuvers, a fifth column of vast proportions. This country can best meet that danger by going on the assumption that the vast majority are capable of being organized into a thoroughly anti-totalitarian body, as much in favor of American principles as other American citizens are—a body whose special function in the nation should be to keep any disloyal German or Italian minority in order.

That means, of course, a very considerable educational effort, and an effort not alone among aliens. Events in Europe have proved tragically that the greatest fifth-column danger does not lie in the presence of a few spies among aliens or refugees, but in the presence among political leaders, journalists, clergy, Cabinet ministers, of men who, while not consciously disloyal to their country, have been unable to make up their minds what this war is about, who are in two minds as to whether, after all, Hitler and Hitlerism are greatly to be feared, whether other dangers, like those supposed to reside in Moscow, are not greater, whether capitulation may not be the lesser evil.

No effort of the German Bund or of any other organization could ever make Hitler popular in America or persuade the majority of Americans to support him, or indeed to regard him as anything but evil. That is not in the least necessary from the Hitlerian point of view. If only the majority can be sufficiently divided—some dissuaded from effort at resistance by a vague belief that all military effort is instigated by the capitalists, others by the conviction that this is just another struggle of rival imperialisms, or that to fight Hitler is merely to pull Britain's chestnuts out of the fire, or that the Jews are behind it all—if the majority can be rendered inert and confused by these divisions, an energetic and ruthless minority can of course do here what it has done over three-quarters of the earth, impose itself upon the majority. These confusions are the real fifth column, infinitely more dangerous than the mysterious "spies and agents" that occupy so much newspaper space.

A fatal weakness in Britain and perhaps in America has been to take for granted the existence of a real understanding of and feeling for the freedom and the democratic way of life which we are both supposed to be defending. Disparagement of those ideals, alike on the right and on the left, has, of course, of recent years become extremely fashionable, the hall-mark of sophistication and hard-headedness. Unless freedom is once more to vanish, the case for it needs to be restated, in terms understanded of the multitude, in such a way as to revive for it the feeling which an earlier generation possessed and this has so largely lost. Unless we can do that, there is no particular reason why a minority within the nation, supported powerfully from without, should not, by a technique which has now become familiar, so profit by the doubts and indecisions of the majority as to dominate it, doing here what has been done to so many nations that once were free.

China's Threatened Life Line

BY K. Y. CHEN

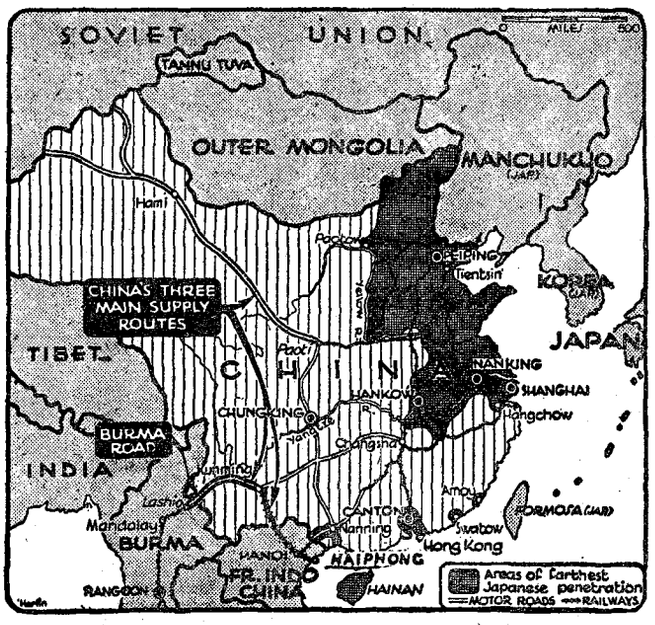
Chungking, China, August 10

AT THE time of the "Manchurian incident" of unhappy memory (1931) the literary and political genius of Japan created the first of three famous slogans—"In Manchuria is the life line of Japan." As an excuse for aggression it was a worthy forerunner of that symbol of chaos, "New Order," and that sorry perversion, "Monroe Doctrine for Eastern Asia." The outside world, knowing that Japan had several supply lines, never quite understood this life-line excuse, but it can easily see that China, in 1940, has been reduced to very few, which are in truth of vital importance. One of these, upon which the Chinese government depends for the transportation of necessary supplies, is the narrow-gauge railway that runs from Kunming in free China to the port of Haiphong in French Indo-China. After the fall of Hankow and Canton to the invaders, the Kunming-Haiphong Railroad became the shortest route from free China to the sea.

When France was defeated by Germany, Japan saw its chance to cut this line. Using pressure and threats it forced the railroad to suspend the transportation of supplies into Kunming. Now a Japanese fleet is cruising near the Bay of Tonkin, and it looks as if Japan were poised to launch an attack upon Indo-China and seize this rich French possession at the back door of China. Hence the question anxiously asked by well-informed observers in the Far East: Will the Chinese fight the Japanese in Indo-China?

The close relations between modern China and the French colony rest on a solid foundation. Indo-China, or Annam, was a Chinese dependency until the French snatched it from the Manchu government in 1885. Though the political tie was thus severed, the economic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



tie was reinforced by the building of the Kunming-Haiphong Railroad, which runs for more than half its length on Chinese soil. A trade pact made between the French and Chinese governments a few years before the war guaranteed to China the right to use the port of Haiphong and the railway for the transportation of supplies of all kinds into and out of Kunming. It contained no reservation limiting the movement of arms and munitions, but in order to prevent friction the Chinese government has employed other routes to bring in munitions; the railway has been called on only to carry other kinds of supplies.

Last June, after the French defeat in Europe, the Japanese through their consul general in Hanoi presented to the French authorities a set of humiliating demands, one of which was for the right to station Japanese observers in coast and railway towns in Indo-China to see that no supplies entered free China through the French colony. The French Governor at Hanoi, not yet used to such insolence, balked. But the commander of the French garrison was frightened and wanted to knuckle under. He had only one division of French troops he could trust and about 250,000 trained natives. The small French fleet in Far Eastern waters was not strong enough to prevent the landing of Japanese troops, and were the invaders to come in force, the combined French and native troops would hardly be able to push them back into the sea or hold them down near the coast. After some hesitation and debate, with a great deal of sorrow, the French submitted, and freight service between Indo-China and Yunnan was suspended. As to the observers, thirty Japanese officers arrived to take up their posts in five coast and railway towns. The French authorities in Hanoi hoped that this concession, made at the expense of China, would satisfy the insatiable Japanese and save the colony.

Chungking was amazed when it received news of the demands. The nerve of the Japs! What were they going to use for troops if they wished to bring war to Indo-China? But the frightened Frenchmen had to be reassured, and the Chinese ambassador to France, then at Bordeaux, and the Chinese consul general at Hanoi were directed to assure the French authorities that with more than one million soldiers tied up in China, and having lost another million killed or crippled, the Japanese war lords could spare no troops to cause real trouble elsewhere. To anticipate any eventualities, however, crack Chinese troops in sufficient numbers to meet a major threat were concentrated on the Indo-China border ready to move in to help the French and Indo-Chinese at a moment's notice. But the courage of the French was broken, and they could think of nothing but yielding. Chinese leaders in Chungking were naturally greatly disappointed when informed that the demands had been granted; they considered the French decision a flagrant violation of the Franco-Chinese pact, a selfish betrayal of China at a critical moment, and an infraction of the League resolution to help China against the aggressor. Besides protesting vigorously to the French and Indo-Chinese governments, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement calling attention to the importance of the concessions made by French Indo-China and reserving the right to take appropriate action for the protection of China's vital interests.

The French submission was serious for China not only because it meant the end of the flow of supplies over the Haiphong railway but also because the presence of Japanese agents in Indo-China was bound to be a source of further trouble. Americans are familiar with the great curiosity of Japanese residents or travelers about military and political affairs, with their devotion to the lucrative traffic in narcotics, with their talent for stirring up racial animosities. Thirty experts in Indo-China, protected by their official status and authorized to pry into railway traffic and general conditions, may be expected to generate a poison that will result ultimately in military intervention.

Moreover, from the strategic point of view, the cutting of the Indo-China line was the beginning of a policy of encirclement. Since the war began, free China has had only three supply lines connecting with the outside world —the railroad through the French colony, the Burma road, and the northwestern highway that meets the Trans-Siberian Railroad. Pressure on the English has already succeeded in closing the highway through Burma. So far the frantic efforts of the Japanese to cut the northwestern highway have resulted in disastrous failure, but they will no doubt continue.

There is also the danger that the Japanese can win over the Indo-Chinese people by posing as their liberators. It is true that the invaders have completely failed to win over the Chinese in the occupied territories, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

therefore cannot use them against the legions of free China, but they may be able to deceive the impoverished millions of Indo-China and then incorporate them in the depleted ranks of the Japanese army. With this acquisition of man-power they would be able really to carry the war into other quarters of the world.

Occupation of Indo-China would place Japan in a strategic position to make further conquests. That it could then attack the Chinese from the rear goes without saying. What is vastly more disturbing to the outside world is the fact that possession of a naval base in Indo-China would add another powerful link to the Japanese naval chain that starts from the island of Sakhalin in the north. From the Indo-China base the Japanese navy, with Guam unfortified, would be able to isolate the Philippine Islands, pluck Manila like a ripe fruit, and strike with ease at both Singapore and Batavia. The wealth of the South Seas would give Japan domination over the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, and enable it eventually to carry naval warfare to Honolulu, Melbourne, or Madras.

Reports are being circulated that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has ordered four divisions of Chinese troops to cross the border into Indo-China. This can be put down as positively untrue. The Chinese government will scrupulously respect the interests, wishes, and honor of the French and Indo-Chinese, and Chinese troops will remain well within Chinese borders until the Japanese try to land and the French call for assistance. Competent observers believe that fifteen divisions with proportionate air, artillery, and tank units will be needed to hold down a Japanese invading force. A battle of such proportions would greatly help to bleed white an already emaciated Japanese economy.

[Since this article was written the Japanese have entered into an agreement with the Vichy government under which Japan is to be permitted to transport a limited number of troops across Indo-China for an attack on Yunnan province. To date no action has been taken under this agreement, presumably because of the resistance of the Indo-China authorities, many of whom are de Gaulle supporters. Rumors that Chinese troops have entered Indo-China to defend the colony against Japan continue to be denied in Chungking. As a defense move Chinese troops have destroyed the international bridge linking Yunnan with Indo-China and torn up sections of the connecting railway.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

France in a Coma

BY HARRY J. GREENWALL

St. Fortunat, France, August 25

"POURVU," writes my niece from Paris, "*pourvu que nous retrouvions bientôt nos petites habitudes.*" My niece is French and works in a bank which, judging from its somewhat florid title, dealt largely with Central Europe. Yet when Central Europe was gradually absorbed by Germany, the bank carried on as usual; apparently it has as many customers as formerly—for that matter one never saw many.

My niece is married and lives in a Paris suburb with her husband, who is an Alsatian, and her little daughter. Last September the husband, who was employed in an aviation factory, was mobilized *sur place,* as the saying is—that is, the factory and staff were transferred to southern Brittany, where the Germans appeared in June. Now he has been allowed to return to his home in the Paris suburb, to live with his mother and his little daughter and his wife, who works in the bank and who hopes she and everybody else will soon be able to return to their old habits.

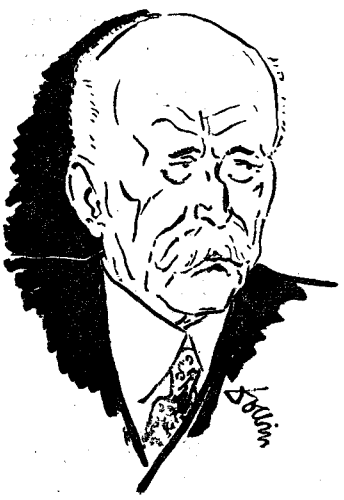
What were these old habits exactly? They were the little things which gave life in France the charm it undoubtedly possessed. I use the past tense, because I believe they have passed away beyond the prospect of recovery. I believe that my niece and the class of French bourgeoisie she represents are going to be disappointed. I am now living in non-occupied French territory. Since the armistice I have traveled many hundreds of miles, by automobile until the supply of gasoline gave out, by train since. To letters from the occupied zones I add the memories of conversations in trains. They build up a composite account of France, illustrated with mental pictures of soldiers waiting for demobilization. In fields, in ditches, and on railway platforms the soldiers lay, without money, without news from homes in German-occupied zones. When they came out of their stupor they talked listlessly, like men who were doped, babbling of the bad food in the barracks compared with the abundance they knew "in the war."

The still mobilized soldiers of France, the demobilized, and the women are waiting for peace and the chance to resume their old habits. They do not realize that these have not been put into cold storage, but scrapped. Since the armistice the Germans have excelled themselves in clever propaganda in France. "Look at us," they say in effect to the French, "we're decent fellows as you can

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

see for yourselves. You're nice people, too. Treat us well and we'll treat you well. Both of us know, don't we, that England forced you to declare war. You didn't want to do it, did you? Very well, then, let's shout altogether, *"A bas l'Angleterre."*

Down with England, down with perfidious Albion. The French tell one another that all that stands between them and their little habits is England, England which is "bound to be beaten."



Marshal Pétain

It is unwise to believe that the French people listen intently to the French wireless programs from London. In the beginning, yes, but subsequently the stories of starvation in France made the people suspect that other stories broadcast from London might be as false. There is no starvation in France, nor near-starvation; there is a shortage of many articles of food, but all foodstuffs are available in amounts exceeding the rations allowed in Great Britain. And the Germans have turned the shortage to good propaganda use by persuading the French that it is not due to the German occupation but to the British blockade.

Opinion in occupied and non-occupied France is influenced by the German control of the press and radio. French newspapers in non-occupied territory submit their material to French military censors who take their orders from the Germans. In Nice I was able to see the standing orders. The official German communiqué must take first place, then the Italian, then the British. No reference favorable to Britain may be made in headlines, and no comment favorable to Britain may appear anywhere in any newspaper. The wireless control is similar. In non-occupied territory programs are limited to official French communiqués issued from Vichy, plus French, German, or Italian music. The influence of these rules on French life and thought was visible a month after the armistice. Letters from occupied zones made mention of the "correct" attitude of the Germans and invariably suggested that any embarrassment that existed was due, not to the German occupation, but to Britain's foolish insistence on carrying on a war already lost.

The mental reaction of the French to defeat is rather horrible; to me, a resident in France for more than thirty years, it is greatly surprising. Perhaps the nation feels like a patient coming out of an anaesthetic who does not yet realize that two arms and a leg have been amputated. Perhaps the gaiety of the Riviera towns and of Marseilles during the summer months immediately after the armistice was the gaiety of despair—"for tomorrow we die." I do not think so. I believe that the French reaction was the logical result of defeat in a war which lacked popular appeal. Nobody, to make use of a statement which is not as superficial as it sounds, nobody in France believes that France need have gone to war. French opinion these days is that Mr. Chamberlain was in the hands of the Jews, who wanted war; and since Britain did not possess an army, it had to use the French army. Customary French logic is absent. If one tries to argue on a question-and-answer basis, the conversation proceeds as follows:

The Englishman: "But did France possess an army?"

The Frenchman: "Of course, or rather no, we had men, but no material; no planes or tanks."

The Englishman: "How did that happen? Your newspapers always said you had the best army in the world."

The Frenchman: "But we were betrayed by the Jews of course. What did Blum do?"

The Englishman: "We always thought that Blum's Popular Front government was elected by an overwhelming majority which wanted to express its disapproval of what your newspapers called Pierre Laval's crooked dealing. After all, it was Laval who brought off that mysterious deal with Mussolini, and it was Laval who went to Moscow, wasn't it? Anyhow, do you believe the Jews to be a clever people?"

The Frenchman: "Et comment!"

The Englishman: "Well, if they are that clever, why didn't they know you had no war material? Surely, if the Jews wanted a war against Germany they wanted victory, not defeat. And another thing which does not make sense to us is, if your M. Bonnet was so much against war as he now says he was, why did he not resign from the Quai d'Orsay when war was declared?"

The Frenchman: "Politics, *mon cher ami,* politics. We are going to do away with all that . . . then we shall be able to get back to our old habits."

The Englishman: "Without politics? I doubt it."

Listening to people talking in trains, I gather that many would have liked to see "heads roll," or, as they put it, *"quelques fusillades."* The statement that the death penalty would not be exacted of those found guilty by the Supreme Court at Riom certainly caused disappointment.

That reaction to defeat is, however, more understandable than the attitude of the citizens of Bordeaux, Lyons, and Marseilles toward the Germans. In Bordeaux women gave the German officers bouquets of flowers. In Lyons the populace applauded the military band concerts. In Marseilles I saw the German Gestapo delegation followed by hundreds of men and women who pressed as close as possible to the Germans; they talked, laughed, and gossiped with the German chauffeurs; they stood for hours staring up at the Hotel du Louvre et Paix, where

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Germans occupied three floors. The *Préfecture* officials held a reception in honor of the Germans.

The slavish swing in favor of the Nazis was explained to me by a peach grower in the Ardèche as follows: "It's what we call in France 'back stroking.' You know the old story—*le loup est un bon animal.*" Perhaps that is the explanation of it; I do not know. Perhaps the French think that by stroking the wolf they may persuade it not to bite. Maybe they think that mild Jewish persecution, the smashing of Freemasonry, the pale imitation of various Nazi Youth movements will appease the German wolf, but personally I am of the opinion that *le Petit Chaperon Rouge,* my niece in a red cloak and hood, is not going to resume her old habits ever again. What she expects, of course, what they all expect, is that as soon as peace is signed, the eggs and the roast chicken will go back into Little Red Riding Hood's basket and she will be able to resume her jaunts through the woods. But I am afraid the clean cloth in the basket will cover nothing but emptiness.

The whole story can be told in one sentence: France confuses armistice terms with peace terms. The return to consciousness after the major operation will shock France to the core. Perhaps back to sanity.

Hungary Gets a Sudetenland

BY ANTON KUH

THE award of Vienna, signed by Hungary and Rumania under the auspices of Herr von Ribbentrop on August 30, has an ominous significance apart from its military and territorial implications. There has been no comment so far on certain consequences for Hungary of the cession of Rumanian territory. But the Hungarians themselves may well feel their flesh creep at the thought of what can come out of it. If they reflect on the recent history of other Central European countries they must feel like exclaiming, "We don't want any more Germans."

Though Hungary became a "mutilated country" in the last war, to quote the title of a once famous book, it was lucky enough to be left without a German minority in compact ethnic groups. According to official statistics the total number of Germans scattered over Hungarian territory was about 480,000, or 5.5 per cent of the population, a majority of whom were Magyarized or Jewish. In their dispersion lay their weakness, for since representatives were sent to Parliament only from regional divisions the chance of their electing representatives of their own was very slight. Their influence on national politics was therefore practically nil. Their demands were reasonable, their actions loyal. They were free to follow the political line of those Magyars who already tended toward a Hungarian brand of Nazism, but they were in no position to claim an independent national life.

The Viennese award gave Hungary, in addition to approximately a million Hungarians and Rumanians, a new block of Germans. As to their number, estimates differ. If German propaganda statistics can be trusted, several hundred thousand *Volksgenossen* will return to their former Hungarian homeland. But the more reliable official census of 1930 gives their number as somewhat less than 120,000. These 120,000 Germans, however, are a very different type from the old German minority in Hungary and will have much greater influence.

The history of the Siebenbürger Saxons furnishes the key to the difference. (Siebenbürgen was the German name of Transylvania up to the collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy.) Many of these families migrated from Germany seven centuries ago. At that time they were induced by King Andreas to leave their poor homes in Saxony and Swabia and to colonize Hungarian soil, which had recently been laid waste by the Tartar invasion. The Golden Bull of 1222 granted them generous guest rights, and they have been allowed to cultivate their language and to follow their traditions up to the present day. Another influx of Germans settled in the region in the eighteenth century, during the reign of Maria Theresa, and became an important factor in giving the old German communities a politically conscious, self-determining character. There is something in the tenacious adherence to old customs of the Transylvania Germans, their cult of folklore, their *Turn-Vereine* and *Gesangs-Vereine,* and their defiant backwardness, that is reminiscent of the Pennsylvania Dutch of the Colonial period.

But beneath the almost idyllic industriousness and peace of Siebenbürgen political unrest has seethed. Like other *Grenzdeutsche,* like the Sudeten Germans especially, the Siebenbürger Saxons were Nazis to the bone even before there was any Nazism. Anti-Semitism was their creed, party uniforms their passion, Europe and Western civilization their abhorrence. Some of the most ardent champions of Nazism in Germany came from this remote country, among them Fritz Klein, who steered the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* out of Bismarckian waters into the stormy seas of National Socialism, and Captain Franz Xavier Kappus of Vienna, who out-Hitlered Hitler in the violence of his writings.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A good half of this compact block of Germans has now fallen to Hungary. To be sure, the two chief towns, with a total German population of 100,000, will remain with Rumania—Kronstadt (Brassov) and Hermannstadt (Sibio), situated in the southwestern part of Transylvania. But Klausenburg (Cluj) and Neumarkt (Targul-Mures) with their surrounding districts, which have considerable German minorities, have been awarded to Hungary and will form a Nazi block that must be reckoned with. Whatever their strength by actual count, it will not be long before they drive a wedge into Hungary's national structure, for they are strong enough to send representatives to the Hungarian Parliament and to make their influence felt.

These repatriated Siebenbürger Saxons, moreover, will enjoy special privileges, thanks to a clause written by Ribbentrop into the Vienna pact. They will have the right to wear the brown shirt, to display the swastika, and to spread party propaganda without any interference. By tomorrow they will undoubtedly present demands for more stringent anti-Jewish legislation. The day after tomorrow they will feel uncomfortable in the new Hungarian jacket. And then the cry "Führer—liberate us!" will be raised in Klausenburg and Neumarkt, just as it was raised a short time ago in Aussig and Teplitz in the Sudetenland and in Kattowitz and Oppeln in Poland. "Hitler, liberate us, we are being maltreated!"

Hungary has so far been saved from becoming officially a protectorate by the fact that Hitler could neither assert it was in imminent danger of invasion by the Allies nor discover an "oppressed German minority" which he could liberate. Now things are different. The Viennese pact, as it were, has supplied the Führer with the Sudeten Germans he needs.

Did the Hungarians recognize the fatal Greek nature of the gift they received by the Vienna pact? Obviously they did, for they tried hard, if politely, to refuse the German-populated territory pressed upon them by Hitler. This attempted refusal will not help them. You cannot refuse a gift from Hitler, any more than you can refuse to give him what he wants.

Within the Gates

DESPITE the example of their masters, the disciples of Hitler and Stalin in the United States have embarked upon a "peace" campaign as vigorous as a *Blitzkrieg* and as false as a Hitler promise. This campaign is being conducted by more than 200 organizations, with a membership thus far more noisy than numerous. The cue for the Stalinist groups is provided by Earl Browder, who not so long ago was plumping hard for collective action against the "international bandits," and who back in 1936 dubbed peace groups "no better than the conscious agents of Hitler and Mussolini." The leadership on the right is less unified but no less inconsistent in its unblushing advocacy of pacifism in the United States and militarism in Germany and Italy.

The first unalloyed Communist peace front made its appearance on the West Coast shortly after the Russo-German pact caused a mass exodus of liberals from the American League for Peace and Democracy. Led by several officials of the National Maritime Union, most of whom were party members, the Keep America out of War Committee took up where the League for Peace and Democracy left off. Its first publication was a pamphlet, "The Yanks Are Not Coming," written by Mike Quin, columnist for the Communist *People's World*. The title was a happy choice. It became the party's most widely repeated slogan, and within a few weeks the Keep America out of War Committee became the Yanks Are Not Coming Committee. Local units were formed all over the country.

After some unfavorable publicity the Yanks Are Not Coming Committee languished like an outworn commissar, and its members and affiliates formed a new holding company called the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War. The most ambitious project of this group was to sponsor the Emergency Peace Mobilization Conference which met in Chicago on the Labor Day week-end. The conference was well planned. More than 20,000 advance reservations were made by persons from thirty-five states. Senators Nye of North Dakota and Clark of Idaho were announced as principal speakers. But when it became generally known that a majority of the individual sponsors were far to the left of liberalism, the Senators hastily sent their regrets, and fewer than 2,000 delegates appeared for the first session.

For reasons not announced, the Chicago conference established another permanent organization, the American Peace Mobilization, which is to absorb the parent committee and its predecessors and their affiliates. The new front plans a nation-wide series of community meetings as a prelude to mass demonstrations on November 11, which is to be known as American Peace Mobilization Day.

Hitler's legions were barely across the Polish border when the first rightist peace front—the Citizens' National Keep America out of War Committee—made its appearance in New York. Its director is L. M. Bailey, formerly an officer of the Paul Revere Sentinels, Inc., and at present the director of the National Defenders. The Paul Revere Sentinels poses as a super-patriotic, peace-loving organization, but some of its most active members are enrolled in the German-American Bund, the Christian Mobilizers, and other notorious fascist groups. Its leaders have been closely associated with Allen Zoll, anti-Semitic leader of the American Patriots, Inc., who is now under indictment for attempted extortion from radio station WMCA. Affiliated with the Citizens' National Keep America out of War Committee—in fact, appearing on the same letterhead—is the National Committee to Keep America out of Foreign Wars, whose chairman is the Honorable Hamilton Fish. Another peace front cooperating closely with Mr. Bailey's organizations is known as Mothers of America. Under the leadership of Kathryn L. Butler this group meets at the headquarters of the Paul Revere Sentinels, in the Murray Hill Hotel.

The "mother" angle has been widely adopted by the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rightists. Mothers of the United States of America, under the leadership of Mary A. Decker, operates from headquarters in Detroit. Mothers of American Sons, originally a Springfield, Massachusetts, organization, now has units in thirty-three cities in several states. Mothers Mobilizing Against War, with headquarters in Milwaukee, recently obtained 100,000 signatures on petitions demanding strict neutrality on the part of the United States. It was the Mothers of the United States, assisted by the Congress of American Mothers, which recently hanged Senator Pepper in effigy and conducted what they called a death watch on the conscription bill in Washington. The activities of these groups have been announced regularly in the pages of Father Coughlin's *Social Justice*. Kathleen Norris's National Legion of the Mothers of America, however, did not welcome the Detroit priest's support and requested that he withdraw his published indorsement.

Nearly every community has a local peace organization of rightist inspiration. Newark, for example, has the New Jersey Committee for Peace and Preparedness, one of whose leaders is the Reverend Edward Lodge Curran, long known as a follower of Father Coughlin and a spokesman for the Christian Front. Typical of many is the Keep the United States Neutral Committee, which makes an appeal to anti-Semitism with the slogan "Jews started the war. Jews profit from the war. Let them do the fighting."

The exploitation of peace by extremist groups has proved harmful to those sincere organizations which believe either that the United States is in no danger of attack or that no war is worth the fighting. For the sake of the record, one should say that among these are the National Council for Prevention of War, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Keep America out of War Congress, World Peaceways, Inc., the Youth Committee Against War, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters' League, the Committee to Defend America by Waging Peace, the Student Peace Service, and the Writers' Anti-War Bureau.

Blackout

BY BEN RAY REDMAN

Lights out!
Let no chink shine:
In darkness meet the drone of death
With the affrighted sirens' whine:
In darkness draw the last short breath.

Lights out!
Let not a gleam
Remain of that bright flame enkindled long ago
When man's first campfire with its nascent glow
Thrust back the night, and warmed a dream.

Forget the light. It's past—
Nor needed at the last.

Let not one spark
Offend the final dark.

In the Wind

ALTHOUGH THE REPUBLICAN *Herald Tribune* is still trying to keep its chin up, one of its Washington correspondents has told intimates that "Willkie is through." He says that in a couple of weeks it will be obvious that an F. D. R. landslide is inevitable.

A QUIET but persistent attempt to bring John L. Lewis and the President together again is being made in Washington. Henry Wallace is working on Lewis and Phil Murray on the President.

THE MOST embarrassed newspaper in the land recently was the Chicago *Tribune*. When the destroyer deal was announced, the *Tribune*, which has long urged the acquisition of naval bases in this hemisphere, carried an editorial celebrating the event. On its front page it ran a scowling cartoon, called "Nearer and Nearer the Brink," which denounced the deal as an act of war. The cartoon disappeared from later editions.

DESPITE DENIALS, it is true that at least one Senator has been informally sounding out colleagues on their attitude toward a declaration of war on Germany. He is Senator Pepper. The response so far has been definitely cool.

THE BIGGEST surprise of the political campaign may be an indorsement of President Roosevelt by Dorothy Thompson. So far she hasn't said anything, but it is reported that she is very unenthusiastic over the Republican nominee; and she likes the President's handling of foreign policy so much that she may forgive other things.

MEXICAN NOTES: Clare Luce is calling up newspapermen and telling them that a very charming agent of Almazán, Mexico's self-proclaimed "leader," is staying at the Hotel Pierre. She says he is ready to give them "important information on Mexican developments. . . ." A recent New York *Herald Tribune* editorial denouncing the Cárdenas administration and warning against the admission of Spanish Loyalists to Mexico stirred a good deal of discussion and dissent inside the *H-T* office. Nicholas Roosevelt wrote it.

BEFORE MR. WILLKIE made his acceptance speech a group of Republican Congressmen tried to get him to oppose conscription. Three of the group were picked to do the persuading by telephone. After the third hung up, he was asked what Willkie had said. "Well," he replied, "it sounded like the letters I write to my constituents."

LOUIS WARD, one of numerous pro-fascist candidates to enter the primaries this fall, took a bad beating in Michigan. He was supported by Father Coughlin.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

ONE of the saddest things about reform is not liking it when you get it. And that seems to be the feeling now of some of those who have spoken most sharply about the mill village and the company town. Ideas have changed about them with the change in them also of advantage and power.

A few years ago the most significant sign in the villages about the textile mills was the number of automobiles. Garages stood behind the houses in all the better mill villages, and in the worst ones still mobile, if not still handsome, cars stood in the dirt streets. Labor could move, not only from job to job, but also, as manufacturers learned, in terrifying flying squadron from mill to mill. That was a mechanization, I thought then, of a movement which spread people long ago across this land. Now it comes—and not by accident—into conflict with what has been supposed also to be a part of the early American desire which has been called the American dream. The first Americans moved, it was said, to come at last to contentment as free men on their own pieces of earth, which would grow vine and nourish fig tree. The real-estate agents have made as much of that as the poets. Mill managers and owners are talking about it now.

Today houses in the company-owned cotton-mill villages in the South are for sale to the workers. Once that would have been hailed as a full pace in the procession to independence. But now some of the same labor leaders who helped damn the villages are saying that in the new process workers may be paying not only money for property but also the higher price of their mobility for stage properties of the American dream.

When President Roosevelt signed the first NRA code, that for cotton textiles, nearly eight years ago, he said—it sounded then like a promise but it has since seemed more like a pious hope—that soon in an age of enlightenment the old cotton-mill village might disappear. There has been an infinite variety of these villages and towns. Some maintained high housing standards; others were squalid collections of long-legged boxes. But too much in all of them grew the spirit behind the defensive statement, "We are just as good as they are even if we do live on a mill hill." It is not surprising that some of those workers who now march up to buy their houses say, "Well, you can fire me now, but you can't make me move." It sounds like freedom and independence, and maybe it is.

The accountants as well as the reformers are responsible for what Miss Harriet L. Herring, of the University of North Carolina, thinks may be a sign of a national trend—the sale by 35 cotton mills in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia of 3,700 village houses to employees. The mills taking this step are a small percentage of the 600 mills in the three states, but all mills are involved in the old unprofitableness of operating villages. All of them also, and all company towns in America, are involved in changes around them. Once the low rents charged were regarded as part of the worker's compensation; now wages and hours laws have complicated that. Once a company-owned village was a handy device for keeping out "agitators"; now in case of labor difficulties the very fact of ownership makes a mill suspect before the National Labor Relations Board. Apparently more and more mills are anxious to escape from the villages in which once their workers seemed to be caught. And those who were most anxious to extricate the workers are not so anxious to free the mills.

Some charge that the whole business is a scheme to unload a bad investment on the workers. But in general the prices asked are below those for similar housing nearby. Those labor leaders are probably more candid who say that even an equity in a house, to say nothing of full ownership, will tie a mill worker tighter to the mill than the old village did. When the mill owned the village, the worker left nothing behind when he departed; when he buys, everything he has is there. Labor leaders fear that the process may set up within the ranks of their own people new barriers to group activity just as the workers have gained protection of the right to organize as they will. The mill's old citadel has become part of the union's new strength.

But mill villages and company towns have not gained virtues even if advantages have been transferred in them. At their best they still mean the monotonous conjunction of workers and their work. They mean a social separation of the people who live on mill hills from the community as a whole. Certainly people should not be rushed into purchasing; they ought not to be pressured into it beyond their financial ability by salesmen's interpretations of the American dream. But it is worth risking all that to begin the elimination of the old ghettos of paternalism—even of the old Edens, as they were sometimes called by those who thought benevolence was a fair swap for subservience.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

CROSS the latest solemn book on the "situation" with "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes" and you get "Europe in the Spring" by Clare Boothe (Alfred A. Knopf, $2.50). Miss Boothe is that fabulous debutante of some years back who has "come out" on Broadway and in Hollywood as well as on Park Avenue. (She's married to Henry Luce, who is quite a debutante in his own right.) Miss Boothe had her first big success with a play called "The Women." There were cats who said that she was just a Stakhanovite, meaning that some rank-and-file worker like George Kaufman wrote the best lines. I don't believe it, because Clare obviously knows more about women than any man does, and the best lines in "The Women" were written by a woman. It was inevitable, however, that she should get a "social conscience" and become absorbed in the Nazis and democracy and all that—everybody *is*, you know—and her next hit was "Margin for Error." It seemed to me so bad that I almost decided that woman's place is in the home. In her new "hit" the Miss Boothe of "The Women" and the Miss Boothe of "Margin for Error" have combined, believe it or not, to produce a Ritz-eye view of Europe in the spring which is lively, informative, incredibly silly in spots, and of course very readable.

Last February, Miss Boothe tells us, she made a decision. She decided that she had to go to Europe to "see about" the war—that's her phrase—and to find out whether it was our business. She sailed for Italy, and the first person she met on the boat was—an editor of *Vogue* off for the Paris collections.

The introduction and the first two chapters might be subtitled "'The Women' Go Abroad," and Miss Boothe's style in these sections is as full of italics, overt or implied, as a coming-out party. She met "everybody" of course; here we have Clare and the Prince and Princess Del D——, Clare and the Pope, Clare and Ciano (he has a crew haircut), Clare and Edda—there's a wonderful shot of, and at, Edda, a cold proud fish about whom "you felt right away that Edda Ciano never 'met' anybody." Who said Clare didn't write those lines in "The Women"? Here, in a footnote, are Clare and Hitler, whom she refused to meet in 1937 because she was afraid that, being a woman, she might smile at him! She stayed in the suite Sumner Welles had occupied —she and Mr. Welles, she says, had come to Europe for exactly the same reason. One of the high points is the discussion of love in Italy.

From Rome Miss Boothe went to Paris, to the Low Countries, where she met an air raid, to London, to Lisbon and the clipper. Beginning with the third chapter, she owes more to Luce than to Loos, and because she really is a bright girl with an absorbent mind and because she continued to meet everybody in and out of embassies and to put down in detail what she heard and saw, we have nine vivid chapters of the confusion, as if self-recorded, that hung over Europe in the spring. Miss Boothe came back convinced that the war is our business; she thinks America at this point has much in common with France before the fall; her message is a warning of disaster. It would be an understatement to say that Miss Boothe does not resolve the confusion. Instead, as a last chapter she gives us fifteen pages of confounding questions without answers and a page or so plumping for a crusade for "Christian democracy."

The book is dedicated to H. R. L., "who understood why I wanted to go." I've no doubt he did.

MISCELLANY: James Thurber's "Fables for Our Time," illustrated by himself, have fortunately been collected in a book (Harper and Brothers, $2.50) along with nine poems, "old favorites" like Curfew Must Not Ring Tonight and Excelsior, also illustrated. In Germany this Aesop in reverse would be burned at the stake as subversive, mad, immoral, decadent, and defeatist. He is also delightful. . . . Knopf has issued a volume of the short stories of Stephen Crane selected and introduced by Carl Van Doren ($2.75). Crane died at twenty-nine in the year that Dreiser published "Sister Carrie," yet in his brief life he wrote enough to fill twelve volumes. His work prefigured the "shocking" realistic fiction of Dreiser; when, for lack of a publisher, he printed "Maggie: A Girl of the Streets" at his own expense, few booksellers would touch it. Maggie is interesting now only as one of the first examples of realism. In general the quality of the stories in this volume is very uneven, but Crane's talent and range are well represented. At his best his use of language is fresh, precise, and sharp; his approach to his material seems "contemporary," which is only another way of saying that it is objective and direct. Crane's work doesn't deserve the obscurity which has been the fate of almost all of it except "The Red Badge of Courage." . . . Ginn and Company has issued a centennial edition of William Graham Sumner's "Folkways" ($4). . . . And speaking of folkways, the Viking Press has published St. Clair McKelway's "The Life and Times of Walter Winchell" ($1.75), who turned that ancient folkway, gossip, into a nation-wide, paying industry.

MARGARET MARSHALL

Why France Fell

J'ACCUSE! THE INSIDE STORY OF THE MEN WHO BETRAYED THE FRENCH NATION. By André Simone. Dial Press. $2.50.

FOUR months ago we believed that France was invincible because it was united. In four weeks it suffered the most complete collapse in history, and its present rulers now condemn everything it fought for in 1914 and in 1939. Such a reverse and such a reversal leave our minds reeling. We crave to understand; and André Simone's lucid account of the tragedy should find a host of avid readers. They will not be disappointed. The "white heat of anger" promised on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the jacket will be found in these pages; but also something of far greater value—the restraint of a disciplined mind.

Let it be understood that Simone offers an interpretation, not the objective immutable truth. Even conscientious historians will never know the exact details, technical and psychological, which are the warp and woof of human events—the unrecorded accidents, the secret deals, the tacit compromises, the unconfessed self-delusions, the obscure decisive actions of obscure men. As for the underlying causes, they will remain in dispute, like the origins of the French Revolution. There can be no irreformable verdict: the soundest history is at best a working hypothesis. But Simone's hypothesis is convincing.

The surrender at Compiègne and the coup d'état at Vichy had the same cause: certain elements in France, in their hatred for social democracy, were at heart with the dictators. They were fifth columnists before Franco had coined the term; they longed for an anti-Comintern pact before Hitler had proposed one. They manned *le mur d'argent,* the money wall, against democratic progress.

Simone believes that the turning-point came, not in 1940, but in 1934. Three things happened at that time. In the previous year the Nazis had destroyed a liberal republic faintly tinged with socialism, and Germany under Hitler ceased to be enemy no. 1. In February, 1934, the Stavisky scandal gave the Croix de Feu the chance of attempting a putsch. In October Barthou was killed. Barthou was the last of the conservative statesmen who placed the interests of the nation above those of class or party. He might have kept the French system of alliances in working order and with the cooperation of Russia have secured an eastern Locarno. But he was succeeded by the "fixer" Laval. As early as February, 1934, the French Nazis were proposing a directorate, with Pétain, Doumergue, Laval, Tardieu, Marquet. By November Weygand's name was substituted for Tardieu's. Doumergue is dead; the others rule France.

The French Nazis, although extremely annoying, did not seem likely to prove dangerous. Their cause was harmed rather than served by the pedantic paradoxes of Maurras and the antics of Daudet. There was an embarrassing profusion of saviors: de la Rocque, Doriot, Tardieu, Chiappe worked at cross-purposes. Laval, biding his time, was still a parliamentary republican. The military junta was still thinking, honestly although ineptly, in terms of national defense. In 1936 the victory of the Front Populaire seemed to make the republic secure both against reaction and against revolution. Simone very aptly records that great fugitive hope. At that moment French democracy committed suicide by allowing Spanish democracy to be murdered. Blum, under English pressure, accepted the principle of non-intervention. He did not foresee what a sinister farce it would become. At the end Daladier, by blockading Catalonia, compelled its surrender. Russia, double-crossed in the Spanish and in the Czechoslovak crises, was forced to abandon Litvinov's policy.

The marvelous efficiency of the German war machine must not be minimized, but that machine was hurled against a wall weakened from within. Simone does not accuse the French Nazis of actual treason; even Laval is not quite a Quisling. What they did, most efficiently, was to deprive France of the essential conditions for victory: clear principles to fight for, sacred union at home, honest cooperation with Russia.

Such is the main line of argument. Simone is too good an observer to believe that it constitutes the whole truth. He does not conceal the turpitude of the *Radicaux*—the bewildered, frightened, thoroughly selfish party of the petty bourgeois. A strong case could be made against "perfidious Albion"; repeatedly it was England, under Tories and Laborites alike, who took the wrong turn and compelled France to follow. Tragic irony: France was punished not for her sins but for her virtues; leaders and people were profoundly pacific, and the assurance that the democracies would not fight was the key to Hitler's daring. The republic was sincerely liberal: it hated to censure, to imprison, to purge. Camelots du Roi, Cagoulards, the would-be assassin of Léon Blum, the venomous sheet *Gringoire,* which tortured Salengro into suicide, all were treated with unmerited leniency. Men like Herriot and Blum, the heirs of Briand, wanted discussion, conciliation, genuine appeasement, between classes and between nations. Their crime was to remain civilized in a world which had relapsed into barbarism.

One of the causes of France's fatal hesitancies was that we, American "liberals," unwittingly acted as a fifth column. For twenty years we kept denouncing the iniquities of Versailles. Our attacks sapped France's self-confidence We were as free with our criticism as we were niggardly with our aid. Even last June, André Simone contends, there would have been no complete surrender if the French could have been assured of American assistance. We let them fall, as we are letting China fall. United, the democracies could have stood. If they cannot unite, they deserve to perish.

ALBERT GUERARD

Socialistic Necropolis

ROMANTIC REBEL: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF GEORGE SAND. By Felizia Seyd. The Viking Press. $3.

IT WAS Jules Sandeau, the first of George Sand's more distinguished lovers, who answered the charge that the famous lady's heart was a cemetery. "A cemetery? You mean a necropolis!" There are almost too many personages in Mrs. Seyd's entertaining panorama of nineteenth-century France—Hugo, Balzac, Heine, Sainte-Beuve, Saint-Simon, Stendhal, Mazzini, and the shadow of the Maréchal de Saxe, that indomitable bastard of Poland's Augustus whose energy descends to his own illegitimate great-granddaughter, George Sand herself. And this illustrious mélange is rendered even more complex by the record of Sand's personal conquests. With a sort of breathlessness Mrs. Seyd hurries on from Mérimée to de Musset, from the melodies of Liszt to Chopin's blue strains. Wherever Sand's curiosity wandered, it almost seems, her passion flowed, and with her loves went her artistic beliefs. As a matter of course she embraced socialism after Bourges. And as the guiding principle of Sand's life was not merely intensity but endurance—her career encompassing two Bourbon restorations, two republics, the empire of Napoleon III, and the Paris Commune—it seems clear that her biographer has ample material.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To much of this material Mrs. Seyd does surprising justice. But not to quite enough of it. Though Sand's epic and in the end tragic quest for love evidently resulted from some unanswered inner conflict, the biography doesn't illuminate this psychological struggle. Viewing the foibles of the French Romantics with a nice irony, Mrs. Seyd again does not accord their agony the weight which recent scholarship has given it. Reacting as the Romantics did against the restraints of classicism, they may well reveal to us an aspect of that larger revolt against civilization which was with a Freud a matter for study and with Hitler a method of conquest.

And as George Sand—this stormy petrel of passion—is transformed into the dove of Socialist peace, Mrs. Seyd in turn attempts to "vindicate French republican tradition and with it the democratic tradition of Europe." Yet her book unfortunately neither quite explains nor endears French democracy. George Sand's heart was indeed a necropolis—of nineteenth-century liberal beliefs. But the hopes and confusions of her liberalism still for the most part lie buried with her, where a more analytic treatment might have resolved these enigmas of Sand and her period. In its own terms, nevertheless, of colorful and often amusing presentation, "Romantic Rebel" is a valuable addition to our popular biographies.

MAXWELL GEISMAR

None Are So Blind . . .

GUILTY MEN. By "Cato." Frederick A. Stokes. $1.50.

THIS small and readable volume does not reveal any new facts, nor does it narrate a well-known tale from a new point of view. Nevertheless, it performs three useful and important tasks. First, it recalls to our mind in an effective way, with some dramatization but without overstatement, the almost incredible complacency and blindness of British governments—beginning with Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Baldwin and ending only, after ten long and crucial years, in May, 1940, with the coming of the Churchill-Labor government—and the equal blindness of the British public, which until a few months ago followed gladly governments that promised peace and boasted of their strength to avert catastrophe.

Men like Sir Kingsley Wood, Sir Horace Wilson, Mr. Lesley Burgin, Sir Thomas Inskip, and numerous other nearly forgotten figures reappear in the pages of this book, almost comic figures in their naive unawareness of the impending disaster, though the consequences of their opinions and their inactivity were so tragic. This regime of little men was dextrous in smudging the sharp edges of every issue, in promising peace to the electors, and in accusing all critics of their policy of being a "war party." Wishful thinking about the plans and preoccupations of the dictators mingled with all kind of delays in preparing the catastrophe of 1940, which most Englishmen refused to consider possible even in 1939. Whereas Germany armed at full speed, English conservatives wished not to interfere with industry and business in what they called a "time of peace." In January, 1938, a member of the Cabinet said: "I believe it is wrong for people to talk about war as if it were an inevitable calamity.

THIS FALL well-read people are reading and discussing:—

THOMAS MANN'S
novel of Lotte and Goethe at Weimar
THE BELOVED RETURNS
"Into our somber world has come a new book by Thomas Mann of such illuminating joyousness as is seldom encountered, a joyousness replete with wisdom, a smiling earnestness that is all lightness in form but weighty in deep and mysterious implications."—*The New York Times Book Review*
$2.50

SIGRID UNDSET'S
fine new novel
MADAME DORTHEA
A novel of marriage and family life in eighteenth-century Norway, it reveals the heart and spirit of the strong independent people of that country.
"A completely satisfactory demonstration of Sigrid Undset's genius as a novelist."
$2.50 —*New York Herald Tribune 'Books'*

LANGSTON HUGHES'
own story of his surprising life
THE BIG SEA
"It is really lots of books in one and all fine; it is a bang-up travel book, a touching American autobiography, a brief history of Paris and Harlem in the glamour days and, above all, it is a record of a poet's mind and body."
$3.00 —JANET FLANNER, of *The New Yorker*

CLARE BOOTHE'S
first-hand picture of Europe at war
EUROPE IN THE SPRING
"A fascinating and disturbing picture of Western Europe complacent on the eve of catastrophe."
—HENRY J. HASKELL, *Editor, The Kansas City Star*
"A swell book which ought to do an immense amount of good where it's most needed."
$2.50 —ELMER DAVIS

IAGO GALDSTON'S
account of medicine's greatest century
PROGRESS IN MEDICINE
Foreword by Henry E. Sigerist, M.D.
The engrossing story of the major medical developments during the past hundred years told in terms of the men, ideas and circumstances behind them...a magnificent account of trial, experiment and victory. Good reading, valuable for research and reference. 350 pages, with index. $3.00

ALFRED·A·KNOPF

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What fools we should all look, if we interfered with industry by building up an artificial system against a war that never happened."

This optimism continued right down to the very day of catastrophe. In his New Year's message on the eve of 1939 Mr. Chamberlain said, reviewing the year 1938: "A year marked by such underlying good-will is one which leaves behind no ground for pessimism." Sir Thomas Inskip, Minister of Defense, said on August 3, 1939: "War today is not only not inevitable, but unlikely. The Government have good reason for saying that." In reading these sentences one should never forget that Mr. Chamberlain was, within his own world, a person of recognized intelligence and of immense experience. "He is a tough old business man, of great vitality and fiber, who has spent his life out in the world interviewing men and assessing characters. Mr. Chamberlain, who was not in the habit of making errors in his assessment of human nature, was convinced that Hitler meant to play ball. This act of faith, achieved by a man whose judgment of his fellow-creatures was respected even by his political opponents, had an immense effect on the whole community."

The second task performed by this book is the proof it offers that even in the midst of a life-and-death struggle British attitude toward criticism remains liberal: it was published in England a short while ago. Even more important for us is its third function—to be a warning to America, where many similarly optimistic and peace-promising utterances are heard today. On the other hand, the fundamental difference between Mr. Chamberlain's and Mr. Roosevelt's governments should not be overlooked. It is idle and dangerous to believe that what happened there must happen here.

HANS KOHN

Is Marriage a Monster?

COSTALS AND THE HIPPOGRIFF. By Henry de Montherlant. Translated from the French by John Rodker. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

I HAVE never read a more brilliant or a more trenchant satire on man and woman in love than "Costals and the Hippogriff." Merciless and good-humored, devastating without the least trace of caricature, it castigates the sentimentalism, shortsightedness, and "dolourism" of the one sex, while pillorying more subtly but just as uncompromisingly the incongruous bluster and self-deception of the other. M. de Montherlant is Cabell, Aldous Huxley, and Oscar Wilde rolled into one, with a liberal dash of Mephistopheles, for his book is wickedly clever and cleverly wicked.

In his hero, to be sure, he does not pretend to portray an ordinary lover; Pierre Costals is a contemporary Don Juan, the epitome of the roving, egotistical, woman-hunting male—in short, what most men secretly aspire to be. A successful novelist and a daring adventurer, he counts his ex-mistresses by the score, and though he has felt genuinely fond of each in her turn, he sincerely believes that in permitting her to serve his physical desires and to provide him with literary material he has bestowed on her a recompense far out of proportion to her significance as a human being. A woman makes a fascinating, though often exasperating, pet; but she only gets in the way when there is serious work to be done.

But in Solange Dandillot, pretty, moderately intelligent, and unequivocally feminine in both her strengths and her weaknesses, he encounters a monster, the determination to marry him, which to Costals is a very hippogriff, with aspect ferocious enough to shrivel up a man's soul and happiness at the first glance. That he may, naturally and spontaneously, love Solange for the rest of his life he will gladly admit; but to be constrained to it, to know that he could not leave her in a moment if he tired of her, that would poison his love forthwith. Several times, through sympathy or inertia or ill health, he is lured to the brink of the pit, almost into the jaws of the hippogriff, only to escape at last, but with such posturings, such circumlocutions, such rationalizings as he could not admit even to himself. For Costals, you see, being in the habit of dramatizing other peoples' lives, could even more easily dramatize his own: if he found himself behaving childishly on a dull evening with Solange, or hopelessly entangled in a dreary conversation with her cloddish mother, he would persuade himself with the utmost facility that the whole incident was a stunt, a tour de force, in which he, Costals, was deliberately acting the part of the clown, to please his own artistic soul.

There is something Shakespearean about M. de Montherlant's comedy; you can never be quite sure whether he is laughing at his hero, at his heroine, or at you the reader. And in addition to the spicy originality of his plot, he sweeps you away with a style that sparkles like champagne, runs the whole gamut from the sprightly wit of drawing-room comedy to the brutal language of the gutter. Fluency and clarity we ordinarily take for granted in a French writer, but M. de Montherlant's epigrams crackle like dry kindling wood. For preserving this verve and freshness in English the translator, John Rodker, deserves hearty congratulations.

I have not read the author's two previously published novels, "Perish in Their Pride" and "Pity for Women," but I certainly intend to.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Party Government in Crisis

THE POLITICS OF DEMOCRACY: AMERICAN PARTIES IN ACTION. By Pendleton Herring. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.75.

THE first American victim of the war crisis has been the New Deal program of progressive legislation. The second victim is likely to be, in large measure, civil liberties. Will the third victim be American party government?

As long ago as last fall, when the war first broke out, so fervent a believer in the two-party system as Walter Lippmann proposed a coalition Cabinet, and Mr. Roosevelt has now made a step in that direction. Dorothy Thompson's plea for a coalition Roosevelt-Willkie slate in the election campaign received wide comment in the press, and later she wrote scornfully of two-party government as an archaic notion and added that in Paris the term "politician" is greeted with bitterness. I have heard it said by men who probably regard themselves with sincerity as democrats that if only this were not an election year they would more freely urge American intervention. The people, yes—but to hell

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with them if they stand like ignorant clods in the way of the purposes which our élite have in their superior wisdom determined upon. The two-party system, yes—but not if it stands in the way of the kind of national unity desired by one particular group.

I am convinced that Pendleton Herring, for one, would not yield to these clamors. He does not discuss this problem except indirectly in a book which was probably written in the main before the outbreak of the war. Nevertheless, his whole book may stand as an eloquent defense of two-party government in America. Therein lies its merit—and, in the face of an Iron Age to come, perhaps also its weakness.

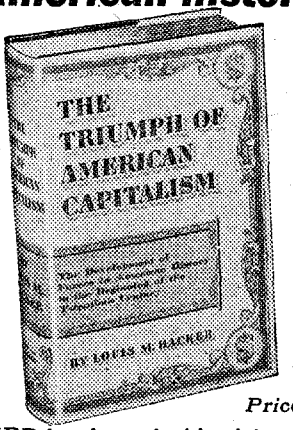
It is in scope and temper the broadest discussion of the American party system that we have had. It does not possess the massiveness and originality of Ostrogorski or the magisterial quality of Bryce, but it has a quiet depth of its own. The author's mellowness of tone is notable for one who must still be classed in the younger generation of political thinkers. It draws for its material upon the best in American political literature. It is judicious and even-tempered, yet not lacking in sharp characterizations. It is objective and yet saturated with value judgments. Its weakness lies in its tendency to fall apart into a series of essays on various aspects of the American party system, each of them ending on pretty much the same note.

With the underlying thesis of the book—that the vitality of the American party system lies in the chance it offers for a vigorous opposition and for the clash of group interests—I can have no quarrel. But Herring goes beyond this. He sees the American party system primarily as a force blurring class, group, and sectional differences which might otherwise be intolerably sharp. He sees it as a balancing force against what might otherwise become absolute rule. "Power," he says, "must be finally identified with no one class or group; it must be handled like a loving cup and passed about lest one of the company get drunk." He applauds, rather than deplores, the fact that neither of the major parties in America is an outright liberal or conservative party. He regards benignly the failure of third-party movements. And here I confess I do not follow him. I know that Mr. Herring is sincere in his belief that the party system, by blurring sharp divisions on social policy, has performed a service for the national interest. Nevertheless, if a totalitarian America should ever come it would be partly because of the way in which our party system has obstructed the relatively swift changes in economic organization necessary for national survival today.

Mr. Herring tries to hold the balance between innovation and conservatism in American life. He says that both are necessary. He even goes so far as to say, "I would cheer the [reforming] zealots on; they are an essential part of the democratic process." But this sideline cheering reminds me of Lincoln's story about the woman who stood watching the struggle between her husband and a bear and shouted encouragingly to both, "Go it, husband! Go it bear!" I feel strongly that Herring, like many other commentators on the party system, should distinguish more sharply between the two-party system as a democratic essential and the heterogeneous composition of parties as a democratic brake. What is essential is that there should be a continually functioning

"A landmark in the writing of American history"

Just Published



Price $3.00

"MR. HACKER has brought his rich scholarship and independent thinking to bear on primary features of American civilization in development, which especially characterize it and distinguish it from the semi-feudal civilization of Europe. His book must be reckoned among the first-rate contributions to American thought about past tendencies and the present direction."
—CHARLES A. BEARD

THE TRIUMPH OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM

By Louis M. Hacker

SIMON AND SCHUSTER • 1230-6TH AVE., N.Y.C.

"Too much truth for comfort."
—*SATURDAY REVIEW*

The story of a shady lawyer, a cheapjack politician and a blackmailing newspaperman, who by fomenting a crisis, seized control and set up a fascist state in America.

"A strong novel, a horrifying novel . . . it has a horrid plausibility that will make you shiver as you read. It could happen just as the author tells it. It has happened, or almost, in more parts of this country than one."—JOSEPH HENRY JACKSON, *San Francisco Chronicle.*

"A shocking, racy novel," adds the *Saturday Review.* "The author knows well the bawdy politicians and newspapermen who are democracy's worst enemies." At all bookstores. $2.00

WEEVIL IN THE COTTON By Samuel Milton Elam

F. A. STOKES CO.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opposition, scrutinizing and criticizing every act of a government; otherwise we shall find not only tyranny but also ineptitude intrenched indefinitely. But a party system which does not really represent divergent philosophies of social policy will mean that the necessary changes in government will be, in Lloyd George's phrase, "always too little, always too late." That this has been true of England and France the plight of both nations testifies today.

In short, I feel that Mr. Herring has gone too far in following the tradition of John Morley and writing an American version of "On Compromise." The moderation of our party system was achieved to start with only by the extremism of our Revolution, and the chance for all of us to enjoy the amenities of American democracy in the future may depend upon the extreme vigor with which we pursue the imperatives of economic and social planning, whether in war or in peace. I have never wanted the 1940 elections scrapped in the interest of some putative national unity: an election is necessary to turn inefficient administrations out or to keep efficient ones from becoming inefficient. It is the mechanism by which one majority is succeeded by another majority. Since I believe that the essence of totalitarian control in both Germany and Russia lies in the one-party system, I have no patience with attempts to introduce that system here. Nevertheless, the party that wins should come into power with a clear notion of why it was elected and what it wants to do, and within constitutional limits it must be given all the power necessary to do it.

I have selected for discussion the phase of Mr. Herring's book that seems of most immediate relevance. But this review does not begin to suggest the wealth of comment and discussion in the book as a whole. The best thing about it is that it does not adopt a holier-than-thou attitude toward party government. It takes most of the things that men tend to rail at in our party system today and accepts them as part not only of its normal but of its desirable functioning.

On a psychological plane the book raises a question that our generation will somehow have to resolve. That question is the extent to which parties have ceased to be a focus for men's real loyalties. Mr. Herring says, speaking of the undesirability of introducing the concepts of left and right into party government: "What if our parties do at times resemble Tweedledum and Tweedledee? The pacific relations between these two would-be warriors offer an example that is not without point in an age where there is enough conflict." Yet he recognizes elsewhere in his book that if democracies are to survive, men must believe strongly in the democratic dogma. Traditionally in American life parties have engaged our very strong loyalties. This is becoming decreasingly true, largely because of Tweedledum and Tweedledee and the effort to avoid conflict. But loyalties that are drained away at this point are likely to be channeled in another direction. If parties become too colorless for real loyalties, what substitute will men come to believe in? One might perhaps answer, the nation as a whole; and the present efforts to whip up a factitious national unity testify to the probability that this will be the trend. But Mr. Herring and others would do well to note that unless a way can be found to give parties once more some real meaning, such a unity is likely to be achieved at the expense of the party system about which they care so deeply.

MAX LERNER

Seminary College of Jewish Studies

through the Israel Friedlaender Classes

offers courses to adults in

HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
CONTEMPORARY JEWISH LIFE
JEWISH HISTORY • RELIGION

etc.

Also Professional Training

For CLUB WORK or for TEACHING in SUNDAY SCHOOLS

"Alertness" Credit for Public School Teachers

For further information apply to

ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER CLASSES
Northeast Corner of Broadway & 122nd Street, New York City
Telephone: MOnument 2-7500

WHAT GOES ON IN EUROPE?

TO KEEP fully informed read THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, for more than a century Europe's leading liberal newspaper. Mailed directly by the publisher, copies of THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY arrive without censorship delay, bringing news from the actual seat of war directly to your letter box *sometimes as much as one month quicker than first-class mail.* Take advantage of our introductory offer of 13 weeks for only $1.00.

Mail your order to

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY
220 WEST 42nd STREET
New York, N. Y.
(No issue has yet failed to arrive.)

Works of El Greco

LES ŒUVRES DE GRECO EN ESPAGNE. By Christian Zervos. Edition Cahiers d'Art. New York: E. Weyhe. $6.

MANY questionable El Grecos are today littering museums and private collections. In fact, Christian Zervos informs us in the introduction to this splendid book on his great countryman that during the Spanish war he discovered a miniature factory devoted to their production in Madrid. How, then, is authenticity to be established? Mr. Zervos suggests the formation of "tribunals" which can adjudicate between the true and the false, and as an immediate step in this direction presents his own volume, into which only demonstrably genuine works are admitted.

He concentrates upon twenty-four major works, and abundantly reproduces these in detail—in one case, The Burial of Comte d'Orgaz, with fifty-one separate plates. As a result, one knows El Greco much better than before, both in big and little as it were. Superb photography helps the process. Indeed, these are the finest black-and-white reproductions of El Greco obtainable at the price. If one wants reproductions of the American works, of course, one will turn to the Oxford volume published some months ago. But for the strictly Spanish *oeuvre* there is no other comparable volume.

JEROME MELLQUIST

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IN BRIEF

THE FAMILY. By Nina Fedorova. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

This story, the Atlantic $10,000 prize novel for 1940, presents a warm-hearted picture of a White Russian refugee family living in Tientsin during the opening phases of the Japanese invasion in 1937. Their selfless devotion to each other and to the eccentric and the unfortunate of many nations whom fate throws in their way, silhouetted against a background of turmoil and blood-letting, lends point to the author's closing appeal to mankind to remember that in spite of social differences and national pride we are all fundamentally one family of human beings.

THE NEGRO IN VIRGINIA. Virginia Writers' Project. Hastings House. $2.50.

This history of the Negro since 1619 in the state to which he was first brought is the first state history of the Negro to be published. Representing the joint efforts of Negro and white workers on the Writers' Project of Virginia, it succeeds in revealing the Negroes of the Old Dominion as they see themselves and as liberal and not so romantic white opinion sees them. The book suffers somewhat from a too ready acceptance of personal reminiscences, which necessarily tend to emphasize the exceptional.

THE FIFTH COLUMN IS HERE. By George Britt. Wilfred Funk. $1.

This book by a veteran newspaperman is perhaps the best account yet published of the personnel, objectives, and methods of German and Italian agents operating in the United States. Only slightly less competent is its treatment of German-American and Italian-American organizations, whose activities Mr. Britt has been reporting in the *World-Telegram* for several years. In fact, much of the material in the book is a reorganization and elaboration of those news stories. Yet, like many a good reporting job, the book tells only a part of the story. Many observers of the fascist movement in the United States believe that its greatest support comes not from foreign agents and hyphenated organizations but rather from native organizations whose only connection with the Rome-Berlin Axis is one of emulation. These groups, of which there are several hundred, are dismissed by Mr. Britt in one short chapter.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND DEMOCRACY. By Charles E. Carpenter. Longmans, Green. $2.50.

This book combines an excellent elementary survey of the defects of our present economic and political "system" with a suggested remedy, designed to avoid recourse to socialism, based on profit-sharing and increased taxation. The author's economic solution sounds naive; he is stronger on constitutional questions.

A MAN NAMED GRANT. By Helen Todd. Illustrated by John O'Hara Cosgrave. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

One wonders who could have thought up the astounding statement on the jacket that this, the first non-fiction book to receive a Literary Fellowship award, is "a new type of biography," using "many devices of the novel in its presentation." This particular example of a form exemplified every other week is well written and shows considerable talent for dramatic narrative and the direct presentation of personality. The author sticks close to known facts, but gives a somewhat feminized version of her hero's "inmost thoughts and emotions," imbued with a kind of college-girl camaraderie. She calls General Grant "Ulyss."

WHERE ARE THE CUSTOMERS' YACHTS? By Fred Schwed, Jr. Illustrated by Peter Arno. Simon and Schuster. $1.75.

Mr. Schwed derives the title of his treatise from the boom-day story of the naive visitor to New York who was taken to the Battery and shown the handsome yachts of bankers and brokers riding at anchor. "But where are the customers' yachts?" he inquired innocently. Nowadays the brokers' cry is, "Where are the customers?" This book, written by one of their fraternity who has managed to retain a realistic sense of humor about his profession, may help to enlighten them. But it will hardly serve to encourage customers, for Mr. Schwed proves with abundant anecdotes that the odds against making a financial success of stock-trading are overwhelming. Fortunately for Wall Street, there are always those who prefer to lose their shirts in an exciting way than sit at home in well-clothed boredom. These are the fellows that pursue the mirage of an "unbeatable system" and provide a living for the professional chartists—a body which deserves more of the author's illuminating wit than it has received. Mr. Schwed defends Wall Street men from the charge that they are more dishonest than those in other businesses. Millions may be stolen he points out, but *billions* are lost, not through crookedness, but just by "bad luck and bad brains met together in an effort to do something that could not be done in the first place." Without its pictures this book might be rated as a sound speculation; Peter Arno's contribution makes it a gilt-edged investment.

DRAMA

Fun in a Hospital

THERE has been a good deal of discussion in recent years over the question whether or not "movie money" is a blessing to Broadway. Warner Brothers are said to be financing "Jupiter Laughs" at the Biltmore Theater, and while I won't go so far as to say that it disposes of the question once and for all, here at least is a good strong argument for the negative. The author is A. J. Cronin, an English physician whose low opinion of his colleagues as expressed in a novel made him a best seller and who has now been persuaded to express that low opinion all over again in the form of a play. Writers have, of course, been doing that sort of thing ever since authorship became profitable, but it remained for Hollywood to standardize the procedure. When a movie magnate determines to elevate the screen he is almost invariably seized by the same inspiration: "Let's find somebody who has done something that attracted attention and then get him to do the same thing for us—only worse."

As a novelist Dr. Cronin was credited with a certain earnestness of purpose and with the ability to present a sober analysis of some sins of the medical profession. In the play one would hardly suspect the existence of either. Here his theme has become merely an excuse for a melodrama in which characters and motives are simplified and exaggerated out of all verisimilitude and the criticism of organized medicine is achieved by the most elementary of devices—a group of stage villains who call one another "Doctor."

The scene is the "common room" at a fashionable private sanitarium for nervous diseases, and nearly all the characters—including the hero—are very disagreeable people. The hero, however, has an excuse for his bad temper. He

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is a scientific genius whose experiments with a new drug annoy his colleagues, and everybody is against him from the pompous proprietor of the institution down to the she-devil of a matron who wants his laboratory for her bedroom. Finally the proprietor's wife (a woman scorned and one who must have read "Hedda Gabler") tries to burn his manuscripts. Thereupon the only person who really understood him loses her life to save them, and in the last act everybody except the audience is surprised to find that a medical journal proclaims his discovery the greatest of the century. That is all except that the young scientist indignantly repulses his now fawning enemies and sneaks off to China.

A company which is mostly English except for Edith Meiser as the matron acts the piece rather well in the only way such a piece can be acted—which is to say that one and all recreate with the obvious touches familiar stage types. But what is perhaps worst of all is the fact that Dr. Cronin seems to have mastered much too well just the sort of dramaturgy which can be learned out of textbooks. His play is therefore, like the plays of many amateurs, so theatrically sound that anyone who has ever seen a play before always knows not only what is going to happen but also just when and how it is going to be brought to pass. Every time a character leaves the stage one knows who is going to appear next; every time two persons are left alone together one knows exactly what each is going to say and do. A dozen Hollywood experts doctoring a script could not have eliminated the unexpected more completely or made more absolutely certain that everything would be worked out according to the most familiar formula. Toward the end, when the hero is explaining certain things to a sympathetic hearer, he remarks, "It's good of you not to laugh." And as a matter of fact it was.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

★★ "I HEAR ★★
AMERICA SINGING"
PAGEANT AND CONCERT
•
Presented by the
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
at
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5
•
TWO PERFORMANCES
Matinees, 2:30
25c • 50c • $1.00 • $1.50
Evenings, 8:30
40c • 75c • $1.00 • $1.50 • $2.50
(Tax exempt—Proceeds to Greater New York Fund)
•
ALL SEATS RESERVED
On sale at: ILGWU, 3 W. 16th Street
All ILGWU local offices—Rand School, 7 E. 15th St.
All theatre ticket agencies.
•
CAST OF 1000

RECORDS

RECORD companies, as an executive remarked to me last winter, are business organizations which function primarily not to produce Art but to make money; and in the record business, as in the toothpaste business, money is made not on the artistic quality of a product, which may be poor, but on its name, which must be celebrated: if the celebrated artist happens to be a great artist that is just a lucky accident for him and for us. The currently publicized names for which the public is willing to pay dollars—these are what the big broadcasting chains, their affiliated concert management combines, and their affiliated record companies deal in, compete with, try to lure away from each other; these are what Columbia Recording Corporation had to set out to acquire a year or so ago when it resumed domestic recording on a large scale with the money of its newly acquired parent, Columbia Broadcasting System. It began with names that had only moderate sales power—Rodzinski and the Cleveland Orchestra, Stock and the Chicago Symphony, Mitropoulos and the Minneapolis Symphony—the only ones lying around loose at the time; and now it has captured from Victor one of the great names in orchestras, the New York Philharmonic-Symphony, and the biggest selling name in conductors, Leopold Stokowski.

Unfortunately, it offers the New York Philharmonic in a negligible performance of Brahms's Second Symphony, and the mere physical sound of this performance badly distorted by recording (Set 412, $4.50). As for Stokowski, if you care for Dvorak's melodious "New World" Symphony you won't want Stokowski's lurid hash of it at all, but will choose the Szell-Czech Philharmonic version; but if you enjoy the Stokowskian tonal splendors that are to be heard on his recent Victor records, you will find that in the set he has made of Dvorak's symphony for Columbia with the so-called Youth Orchestra (Set 416, $6.25) they are altered by recording into something now sharp, pinched, nasal, now wooden and hollow. However, both these sets sound better on a little Magnavox Concerto with its limited tonal range than on the large high-fidelity machine for which their wide-range recording is supposedly intended.

What is wrong with these two Columbia recordings is apparent as soon as one hears the wonderful depth and fulness and roundness of the sound of the Philadelphia Orchestra in the new Victor recording of Brahms's Second Symphony made by Ormandy (Set 694, $6.50). The performance now is a little lush, now is a little coy, now pauses to tie a ribbon on a chair-leg; but as a whole it is a fairly good job, and certainly one that will satisfy most of the people who like the work (the set issued by the *Post* and the National Committee for Music Appreciation offers the almost identical performance, less well recorded). My own choice would be the musically first-rate performance recorded with adequate clarity and fidelity by Beecham four years ago.

Columbia's best September release is Beethoven's wonderful Piano Sonata Opus 101, available to the general public now for the first time in a performance by Gieseking (X-172, $2.50) that does not give the work its complete effect. Gieseking is capable of the delicacy and subtlety required by Scarlatti and Debussy, but not of the strength and depth required by Beethoven; and in this work not only does he fail to plumb the depths of the Adagio movement but he rushes gracelessly through passages in the last movement to which one would expect him to impart the grace and charm he gave to the finale of the Concerto No. 4. Also good, on the whole, is the set (413, $4.50) of Tschaikovsky's Violin Concerto, with excellent playing by Milstein and a wooden-sounding accompaniment by the Chicago Symphony under Stock.

Readers inform me that the National Committee for Music Appreciation records are now being distributed by so-called Music Appreciation Headquarters at 1016-18 Union Commerce Arcade, Cleveland; 535 Wood Street, Pittsburgh; 245 North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis; where they can be ordered by mail. Since one reader asks, my critical comments on them appeared in *The Nation* of March 2, 1940.

B. H. HAGGIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Hate into Hitlerism

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* some time ago Mr. Villard accused the President of trying to drag us into war in order to cover up his failure to solve unemployment. I and many other WPA workers think he hit the nail on the head. Do you realize what the unemployed and the workers on WPA are thinking about capitalism and democracy versus the Hitler-Stalin-Mussolini setup?

By way of introduction let me say a few words about the WPA, which we think is the most idiotic conglomeration of mismanagement ever conceived of by a diseased imagination. You probably don't know it, but every WPA worker and every person on direct relief is the victim of continual surveillance and petty persecution by investigators whose haphazard reports may mean the difference between starvation and a pittance merely sufficient to keep the worker and his family alive. Roosevelt and his liberals raise their hands in pious horror at Ogpu, Gestapo, concentration camps, forced labor, white terror, threats, intimidation, etc. Well, these things all exist in WPA.

There are about a hundred workers on this project, and they are, with very few exceptions, anti-war, anti-capitalism, and anti-Semitic. And there are seven different organizations trying to enlist our sympathies and support. Excuse me if I omit the aims of these outfits. Their arguments are specious, contemptible, cowardly—especially the anti-Semitic approach—and unpatriotic. But, God forgive me, I am weakening.

And now a word about myself. I am a World War veteran, a total abstainer, and I have never been fired off a job. I have never been in a court of justice or a hospital. I have worked hard all my life as auditor and accountant, and now, at forty-eight years of age, I am forced to rake leaves, mix concrete by hand, dig holes in solid rock for trees that are never planted, move piles of gravel with a shovel and wheelbarrow from here to there and then from there to here, get down on all fours and pick weeds in the public parks under the pitying glances of all and sundry, including an occasional acquaintance. An illiterate Negro and I pulled a 2,000-pound roller on a road-making gang for weeks at a time; while I was thus scabbing on a Missouri mule, a pharmacist close by was straining his guts on one end of a seven-foot crosscut saw—a Filipino was riding the other end. And WPA officials tell the taxpayers that "as far as possible, the workers are given jobs in line with their previous experience in private industry, in order to preserve their skill."

If you were in my place would you be the self-respecting, fair-minded, and upright persons you undoubtedly are? If your answer is yes it is because you have never hated. Hatred has never taken possession of your body, your mind, your soul. A person who has never been in love cannot know much about it; and by the same token one who has never been consumed by a fierce, all-devouring hatred cannot know to what depths the human soul can sink. That is why you liberals will never be able to understand the power of the Hitlers.

I have tried to analyze my feelings and reason the whole thing out. I keep on telling myself that my hatred of the present social and economic setup is due to what it has done to me. But I know that is not the true reason. What sends the blood to my head is seeing, day in and day out, the widespread poverty, misery, sickness, ignorance, filth, and stupidity that are so unnecessary. My hatred of this "system" with its callous indifference to the suffering of millions of bewildered and innocent people is doing something to me. I am weakening, and almost ready to cast myself into the filthy slime of Hitlerism.

A WPA WORKER

San Francisco, September 2

Look at the Record

Dear Sirs: Some genuine liberals—not many—have shown surprising, not to say suspicious, haste in assuring Mr. Willkie that he, not Roosevelt, will have their votes this time. What is the matter with these liberals? Are they really deceived by the claptrap about a third term spelling serious danger of a dictatorship?

There must be another explanation of this strange about-face. Two college presidents have, in a signed statement, hinted at it. They declared that in his second term Roosevelt misapplied the New Deal philosophy, which they had supported, by his gratuitous attacks on honest business, by his vindictive "stretching" of reform measures, intrinsically sound, and by developing extreme un-American tendencies. They failed to produce a bill of particulars, however, and there are no facts to sustain their vague charges.

The truth is, Roosevelt has been opposed to unnecessary concessions to the economic tories, has been demanding adherence to the New Deal reforms, and has not gained any friends in the plutocratic camp. Whom are the industrial autocrats, the foes of unionism, the bourbons of all types supporting now? The answer is, Willkie.

Let the liberals who think they prefer Willkie to Roosevelt at this juncture consult the complete Willkie record, as well as the records and known sentiments of his backers.

VICTOR S. YARROS

Chicago, September 4

The Militarists' Big Chance

Dear Sirs: During the past year or two, since the international situation became ominous, a significant change has come over the American people. Two years ago we were a nation of peace-minded citizens; today, though we still love peace, we say so with a firm "but." Now there is nothing wrong about that "but" except that it has been applied to subjects other than peace, including democracy itself.

All over the world are men who believe in the virtue of regimented thought and action, that the state is everything and the individual nothing. They are the men who believe that the people are not fit to govern themselves. They can be found almost everywhere: among the would-be dictators who believe that democracy is a barnyard where all the hens cackle at the same time, among the super-patriots, among the aristocrats who believe in royalty, among those pure churchmen like Father Coughlin and Bishop Manning who think they have a monopoly on morality and who want to censor everything in order to protect their flock from men like Bertrand Russell, among the industrialists and capitalists who want to keep labor under their thumbs, and among the big bankers and financiers who think

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that wars are terrible but profitable. These are the fascists.

In this eventful year of 1940 arises the perfect opportunity for these fascists and militarists to have their say and their way, because fascism thrives on the extreme patriotism which results from mass hysteria. Two years ago no editor or prominent individual would have dared to come out in favor of peace-time military conscription. Yet now this tyranny has become law. It should be clearly understood that *The Nation's* reasons for advocating conscription are very different from those of our army officers. Even if the army could get all the men it needed by the volunteer system, it would still favor compulsory military service during peace time. This is the big chance that military men have been waiting for.

We are already off the road of democracy. Back at the junction the road to fascism looked safer at the time. It was decorated with American flags and lined with beautiful girls singing "God Bless America"—and we took it.

CLEMONT DROZ

Lyndhurst, N. J., September 12

The Atlantic May Shrink

Dear Sirs: Many have said, among them Mr. Villard, I think, that the Atlantic Ocean is still a 3,000-mile moat in front of our castle. Such persons should consider that the width of the moat may shrink overnight from 3,000 to 2,000 miles. If the British fleet loses control of the Atlantic, Germany is certain to seize Portugal, either by force or by penetration. The move may be postponed till after a Balkan settlement, but in the end it is inevitable. With Portugal go Madeira and the Azores. The latter include the island of Fayal, with its port Horta, one of the finest natural harbors in the Atantic. If this were fortified and in German hands, the security of our skyscrapers would be notably diminished. S. G. MORLEY

Berkeley, Cal., August 27

Barter and Fascism

Dear Sirs: The major force making for distrust of democracy is economic despair, for the prevalence of which in the world barter trade among nations is chiefly responsible. We all fear the impoverishment that the declared intentions of Germany to engage in barter would produce, but it is quite evident that British mastery of the seas will no more eliminate barter after the war than it did before the war. England's trade with Latin America at the present time is on a barter basis, and since barter always impoverishes countries and lends support to fascism within them, England is now unwittingly or stupidly playing into the hands of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Those in our country who either hate England or sympathize with Germany are chuckling in the assurance that so long as we close our eyes to England's barter in Latin America we are really supporting Germany, because we are leaving unopposed the economic forces that strengthen fascism at our back door and at home. L. B. POTTER,

Secretary, Reciprocal Trade Council

New York, September 12

Two Different Animals

Dear Sirs: I should like to point out the way in which Mr. Munz has repeated a stock error in his interesting article in your issue of September 7. He talks about the "rural downstate areas" in Illinois when he plainly means the rural downstate vote plus the small-town vote.

These are two different animals. In Iowa, in 1936, the farm precincts gave Mr. Roosevelt 62.4 per cent of the vote; the towns under 10,000 gave him 48 per cent of the vote. Elections in Iowa are contests between the farm vote and the small-town vote, with the cities balancing between the two.

My point is that any intelligent discussion of the farm vote in the Middle West must make a careful distinction between farm and small-town voting habits. In most states, I would guess, these two sections of the population are headed in opposite directions. I have no exact data, however, except for Iowa.

DONALD R. MURPHY,
Editor, *Wallaces' Farmer*

Des Moines, Iowa, September 10

McWilliams in Yorkville

Dear Sirs: Thank you for the splendid articles you have been running about the alien-persecution bills and the anti-Semitic attacks of Joe McWilliams here in Yorkville. I want, however, to state that McWilliams is not representative of Yorkville people on the whole.

I am a Jew and live in Yorkville, and yet I can say that a large majority of our people are opposed to him and his Nazi followers. Germans make up only about 20 per cent of Yorkville's population of 200,000; and fully four out of five of this German population are anti-Nazi and anti-Joe McWilliams. The crowds you see at his meetings are recruited from the entire city.

The adherents he has picked up in Yorkville are unemployed hoodlums who will follow anybody for a drink. Some are followers of Father Coughlin who formerly followed Huey Long; some are the former followers of Fritz Kuhn. So don't blame the good German people here, or the Irish, either; they call Joe "shanty Irish." IRVING D. LASHER

New York, September 13

CONTRIBUTORS

J. LACEY REYNOLDS is Washington correspondent for several Southern newspapers.

NORMAN ANGELL won the Nobel peace prize in 1933. He is the author of "The Great Illusion" and "The Unseen Assassins," and coauthor of "You and the Refugee."

K. Y. CHEN is the pseudonym of a teacher in a large Chinese university. He has close personal connections with Chiang Kai-shek.

HARRY J. GREENWALL is an English journalist whose dispatches from France have often appeared in the *New Statesman and Nation*. His article reached us uncensored.

ANTON KUH is a well-known Austrian writer and lecturer now in the United States.

BEN RAY REDMAN is a well-known poet and critic.

ALBERT GUERARD is professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University.

MAXWELL GEISMAR is a member of the English Department of Sarah Lawrence College.

HANS KOHN, professor of modern European history at Smith College, is the author of "Revolution and Dictatorships."

INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

THE NATION, 55 Fifth Ave., New York. Price, 15 cents a copy. By subscription—Domestic: One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional Postage per year: Foreign, $1; Canadian, $1. The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Dramatic Index, Index to Labor Periodicals, Public Affairs Information Service. Two weeks' notice and the old address as well as the new are required for change of address.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED